

# anarchy

the Polish food riots



no.4 20p



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# anarchy 4

Volume One Number Four Second Series

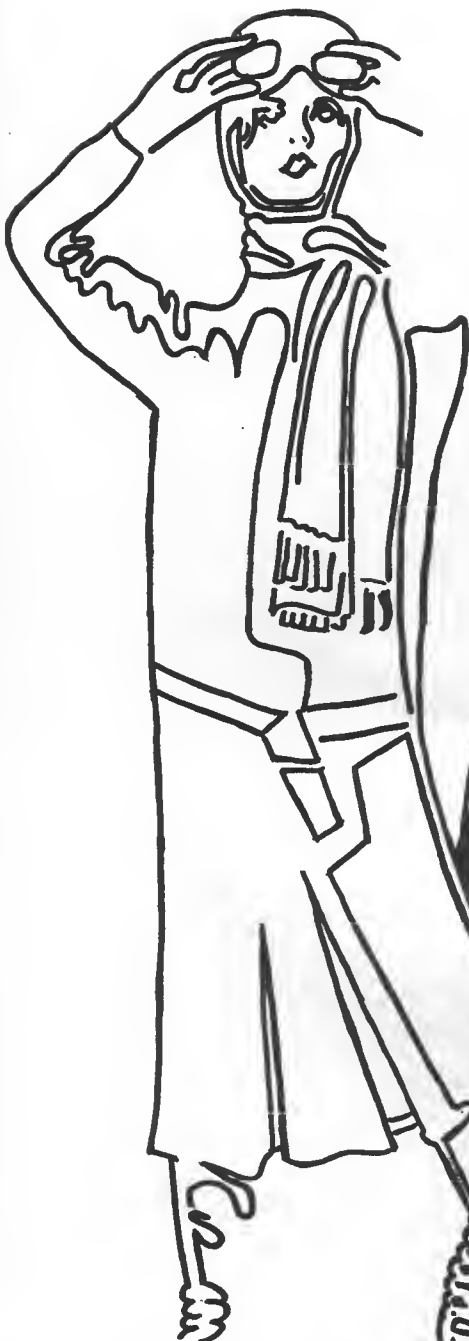
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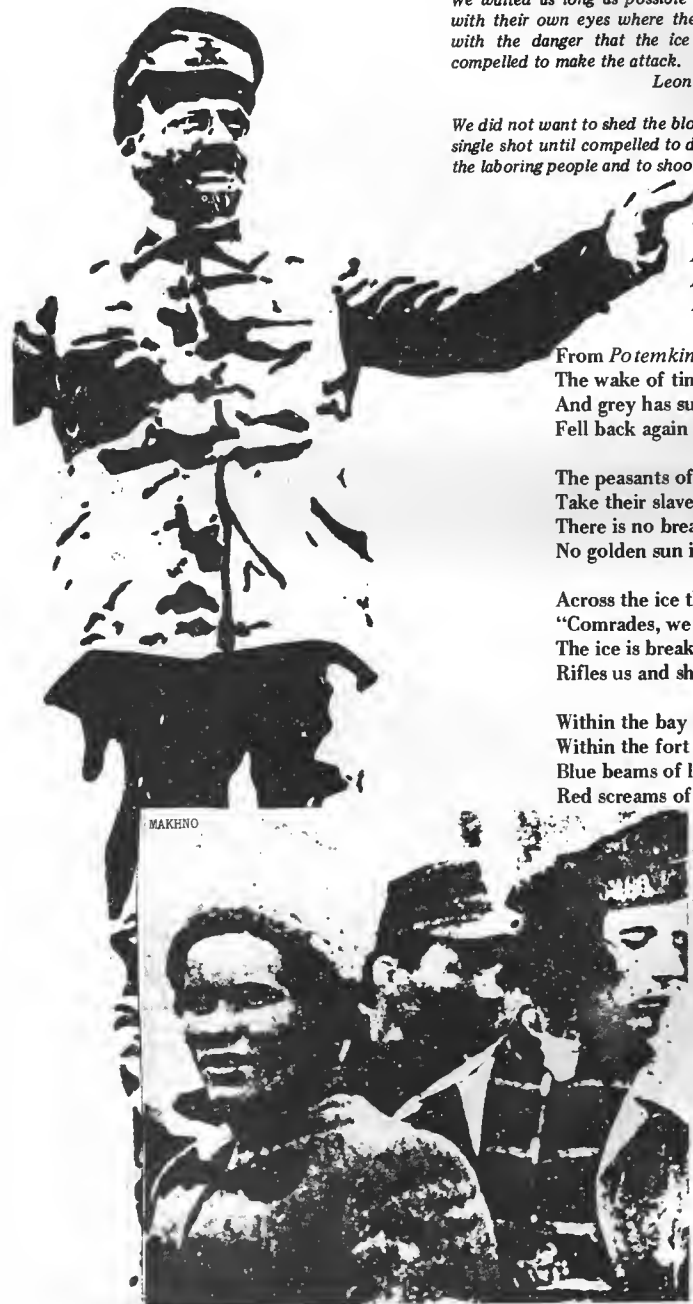
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*We waited as long as possible for our blinded sailor-comrades to see with their own eyes where the mutiny lead. But we were confronted with the danger that the ice would melt away and . . . we were compelled to make the attack.*

*Leon Trotsky, Sochineniya, V.XVII:Bk2,p523*

*We did not want to shed the blood of our brothers and we did not fire a single shot until compelled to do so. We had to defend the just cause of the laboring people and to shoot—to shoot at our own brothers. . . .*

*Kronstadt Izvestia, March 8, 1921*

*Will red love moan and kill herself?  
And downfall grace to save her face?  
And history nod to who was right?  
And place these corpses in their place?*

*From Potemkin to Kronstadt  
The wake of time has rolled  
And grey has surfed to green and grey  
Fell back again on gull black shoals.*

*The peasants of the Baltic Fleet  
Take their slave life in their free hands  
There is no bread in Petrograd  
No golden sun in that lead land.*

*Across the ice the soldiers come  
"Comrades, we are killing you!"  
The ice is breaking! and each crack  
Rifles us and shivers you.*

*Within the bay the heroes drown  
Within the fort the heroes die  
Blue beams of longing sweep the sea  
Red screams of anguish slit the sky.*

*History will not speak  
Heroes will not lie  
Men who wanted love and life  
Killed, were killed and died.*

Words: Tuli Kupferberg

# class struggles in poland



The background and the struggles of December 1970 and January 1971, by Peter E. Newell. The photo above is a street scene in Szczecin, showing fraternisation between people and troops, 18 Dec. UPI Photo.

POLAND IS IN A MESS. The appalling winter weather did not help. During January coal from the Silesian mines was unable to feed many of the country's power stations because locomotives were freezing to the tracks. In some cities, street lighting had to be cut and shop windows blacked out. Agriculture is stagnant, and there are still shortages of some foodstuffs; whilst certain consumer durables such as TV sets and refrigerators have been over-produced relative to demand. For some time now the country has staggered from one social and economic crisis to another.

Recent industrial unrest, particularly in the North, has resulted in the ousting—for health reasons, so we were told—of Mr. Gomulka, and other changes within the government, ruling bureaucracy and Party. What were the basic causes of the strikes, demonstrations, local insurrections and subsequent political traumas of December, 1970, and the early part of this year? Even to attempt to answer these questions we must discuss—albeit very briefly—the origins of post-war Polish social, economic, and State institutions and structures. First, and most importantly, who runs and controls the Polish State?

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE PARTIES

In theory, the State is controlled by the *Sejm* or Parliament, which contains deputies from three political parties: the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party and the United Workers' Party. The United Peasant Party is merely a sop for the extremely religious and individualistically-minded peasants; the so-called Democratic Party is, presumably, intended for the petit-bourgeois "intellectuals", non-Communist bureaucrats, managers and the like, and small traders and market gardeners, who would never vote for an avowedly Communist or Socialist Party. Leading Churchmen probably vote for "Democratic" candidates. The United Workers' Party is, historically, the result of a "shotgun" marriage between the Polish Socialist Party and the non-purged remnants of the old Communist Party of Poland\* who, in the main, returned to Poland under the protection of the invading Red Army after the war. In practice, elections to the *Sejm* are even more of a farce than elections in other countries. One list of candidates is drawn-up by the political leadership

\*Not to be confused with the new Communist Party of Poland, which is a tiny Maoist group.

of, supposedly, all three parties. There is, however, practically no difference between the policies of the three parties, and absolutely none at all with regard to foreign affairs, relations towards the Soviet Union and Comecon.

In fact, real State power in Poland is in the hands of the leading *cadres* and *apparatchiks* of the United Workers' Party—that is the Communists. Based on the "principles" of democratic centralism, the UWP is a monopolistic organisation. The United Workers' Party, of course, has many hundreds of thousands of ordinary workers as members. A few, particularly in the dim distant past, joined for idealistic reasons; but most joined for the little privileges that accrue to members of a Communist Party that controls a State and economy in an industrially backward country. These hundreds of thousands of members have very little say in running the Party, the State or the economy. All political parties of any consequence are organised from the top downwards. The Polish UWP is no different. For it is not only monopolistic, but also monolithic. Officially at least, all factions, groups and "platforms" are forbidden, despite the ever-recurring struggles for power and occasional purging of oppositionists and scapegoats as we have recently witnessed. Presumably, rank-and-file members can think what they like, but they have no right to organise independently of, or in opposition to, the established leadership. Of course, change and opposition does come, can come, but only from, and within, the ruling strata and leadership, either nationally or locally or both. Mr. Gierek replaces Mr. Gomulka. A "palace" revolution! Until recently, the leadership has been completely independent from control of the membership and, of course, the masses. But, at least, during the last twelve months, it has been increasingly subject to pressures from below, both from rank-and-file members and from non-Party workers, and from that other powerful and very authoritarian organisation, the Catholic Church. Indeed, the Church, even in the worst Stalinist period, proved to be an influential non-Communist pressure group in Poland.

All essential decisions in Poland, therefore, are first made by the UWP leadership. No important decisions are made without the Party. This is what the Communists call the "leading role" of the Party. Outside of the UWP and its satellite parties it is almost impossible for the workers and peasants to organise politically; and outside the Trade Unions—themselves largely Communist "front" organisations subject to Party dictates—it is extremely difficult for them to organise industrially. The virtual prohibition by the ruling Party against independent organising by the workers and peasants (in the Unions, etc.) is guarded and protected by the whole State apparatus of power and coercion: that is, by the political security police, civil militia, army, and the courts and the attorney general's office. Moreover, the Communists have at their disposal the means of production and distribution, as well as the press, radio and TV. Furthermore,

almost all the top managers and government officials are also top, that is influential, members of the United Workers' Party in their own right. This results in the leadership exercising almost absolute power, politically and economically. The Party is the State: the State is the Party.

#### EACH NEW ORDER . . .

Before the last war Poland was primarily an agricultural country and was, economically, very backward. It had a large landlord class and peasantry, and a small proletariat. Much of the small-trading was in the hands of the Jewish population, of whom the majority were extremely poor even by the standards of pre-war Eastern Europe. Politically, Poland under Pilsudsky was to all intents and purposes a Fascist or near-Fascist State. The Communist Party was banned. The majority of the population was—and to some extent still is—devoutly Catholic.

Over twenty-five per cent of pre-war Poland's population were not Polish. They included five million Ukrainians, three million Jews, two million White Russians and almost a million Germans mainly living in the western part of the country. During the fighting in 1939, and throughout the occupation, the Germans exterminated over seven million people; they killed all but a tiny handful of the three million Jews, and following the war, Russian expansion in the east of the country swallowed up all the Ukrainians and White Russians. And, again after the war, the new Polish authorities saw to it that the remaining Germans were "sent packing". Furthermore, under the Nazi "New Order", or *General Government*, as Poland was called by the Germans, all Polish schools and universities were closed down, and all independent newspapers, magazines and books banned. Both the land and the working population were exploited for the "glory" of the Third Reich—and the profits of the German bourgeoisie. Most of Poland's small industry was destroyed by the contending German and Red armies, or was in a pretty parlous state by the end of the war. Most of the country's "intelligentsia" had fled or had been killed by the Germans or the Russians. This, then, was the kind of country that the Russian-backed, pro-Stalinist Lublin government found on arrival in Warsaw.

Following the war, Poland was literally moved 125 miles westwards. Vast areas of eastern Poland went to the USSR, whilst Silesia (with its coalfields), the old "free" port of Danzig (Gdansk) and a former part of East Prussia along the Baltic Coast, was ceded to Poland. Ethnically, there were also changes. Poland today is peopled almost exclusively by Poles. There are, however, many thousands of Poles living within the borders of the Soviet Union; and there are some hundreds of thousands of Poles living in Britain, of whom most came from the old aristocracy, "intelligentsia" and landlord classes. These, as many British workers can confirm, continually hark back to

the Poland of pre-war and the political régime of Pilsudsky and Colonel Beck. They are the dubious friends of a "free" Poland, some of whom were witnessed demonstrating in Hyde Park early in 1971.

Poland had to be not only rebuilt anew, but developed industrially if it was to compete with other nations. This was the view of the post-war Stalinist government. The Communists were going to "build socialism". They nationalised the means of production—what was left of them after the Germans had been driven out—transportation, distribution and the banks, by an act of Parliament. The government then pressed ahead with an extensive programme of industrialisation. Although called "building socialism" by the Polish Communists and their Russian masters, Karl Marx would have probably seen it as building capitalism—and a particularly vicious form of State capitalism at that! This was truly Poland's epoch of "primitive accumulation" and the creation of a propertyless, wage-earning class; of the development of wage-labour on the one hand and (State) capital on the other. To some extent, the government was successful in its objective of developing a base of heavy industry in Poland. Like all "communist" societies, however, Polish economic planning was over-centralised. Moreover, the "planned" economy, with its artificially determined prices, bore little relationship to the costs of production. The Communist bureaucrats proved to be hopelessly inefficient. Most were concerned more with keeping their jobs than with improving economic conditions. Polish industry today needs more computers and many more technicians and scientists. Even compared with other East European countries, Poland has got left behind. The workers are not only exploited, but are desperately poor by European standards. Average income of an industrial worker is about 2,400 to 2,500 zlotys a month. Pay in the service industries is considerably less. Yet a 23-inch TV set costs over 12,000 zlotys!

#### DECLINE OF AGRICULTURE . . .

Polish agriculture has not followed the usual Stalinist-communist pattern. Originally, the Polish government's policy was the same as that of all Communist governments—forced collectivisation of the majority of farms, together with a small number of very large State farms employing wage-labour and run by an employed manager or director. However, owing to circumstances which will be mentioned later, the policy of collectivisation was abandoned in 1956. Today, less than five per cent of Polish farms are collectivised, and ten per cent operate as State farms. There are six million peasants working on private farms, and perhaps 400,000 on collective and State farms.

Agriculture in Poland, as elsewhere, has declined relative to industry. In 1937, 63.8 per cent of the population worked on the land; in 1960 it was just under 40 per cent. It is, of course, considerably less today. As in Britain, young farmworkers continually flock into the towns and cities, to work in factories. Much of Polish farming is still horse-powered. Government policy has laid emphasis on mechanisation, but the fragmented nature of landholding

largely precludes this. Machinery such as combine harvesters, designed for large units, have limited impact on farms of a few hectares. Furthermore, Poland has built some of the world's largest fertiliser plants, but again the use of fertilisers is very limited on tiny farms. But grain production on the State farms has increased enormously through mechanisation and the use of fertilisers. All the same, in order to maintain meat exports (mainly to Britain), Poland still has to import grain from abroad in large quantities. Unfortunately for the workers and peasants—and the government—bad floods in the winter of 1969/70, followed by a dry summer, resulted in a poor harvest. Food sold to the State earned little for the peasants.

#### . . . RISE OF THE MILLIONAIRE

Within the non-collectivised farm sector, there are considerable differences in the size, and prosperity, of the individual farms, smallholdings and market gardens. Indeed, 44.6% of farms are three hectares (2.471 acres = 1 hectare) or less; 28.9% are 3-7 hectares; 12.7% are 7-10 hectares; 7.9% are 10-15 hectares and 2.8% are 15 hectares or over. Some farmers and market gardeners, however, are extremely wealthy, not only by Polish standards, but by Western standards as well. There are about 500 zloty millionaires\* amongst Poland's big market gardeners. Of one of them in particular, the *Financial Times* (3.10.70) said the following: "Wealth here shows itself in tight bundles of 500 zloty notes, town houses, seaside villas, expensive Western cars, lavish parties, and other more blatant manifestations which from time to time draw bursts of criticism from the official press. Friends of Pani Barbara estimate that she spends more in one month on massage and beauty treatment than a computer programmer earns in the same period". Obviously a capitalist by anyone's criteria! About 3% of Poland's farms use hired labour.

If forced collectivisation is no longer operative in Poland, how then does the State control the majority of the peasants and farmers? How is their personal (individual and family) consumption limited and controlled? These questions have been dealt with in considerable detail by Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski in their *Open Letter to the Party*, published in 1965. The following paragraph follows their analysis fairly closely.

The major limiting factor on peasant consumption is direct fiscal pressure—that is taxes and compulsory deliveries. True, compulsory deliveries are paid for by the State, but the rates are, on average, half those obtained on the "free" market. Secondly, the pressure exerted through the State monopoly of the market. The State is the sole supplier of all other commodities that the peasant farm acquires on the market. Furthermore, the present system of draining away surpluses deprives the countryside of a material base for the further expansion of its own productive potential. Hence, the stagnation of agricultural production with a simultaneous, and fairly rapid, growth of production resources in industry. Nice new refrigerators, and

\*One million zlotys are worth about £17,000.



bugger-all to put in them! This phenomenon is common to all industrialised (or partially industrialised) "communist" countries ruled by bureaucratic State Capitalist dictatorships.

### 1956—THE CREATION OF WORKERS' COUNCILS

The year 1956 was a bad one for the Communist rulers of Eastern Europe. In that year there had been risings in Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, the USSR—and Poland. This is not the place to record the heroic struggles of the Hungarian workers, the street battles between students and units of the Red Army in Kiev, in the Ukraine, or the scores of arrests of anarchists in Sofia, in Bulgaria. Brief mention, however, must be made of events in Poland.

The Polish revolt, like the East German, began with a strike of industrial workers. But unlike the Berlin revolt it was much better organised. In Poznan, on July 28, the workers of the big ZISPO locomotive works marched out and on to Red Army Street in the centre of the city. There were 15,000 on the march. Within minutes, workers, shouting such slogans as "Bread and Freedom!", left the factories and building sites throughout the city. All traffic was forced to a standstill. Students and housewives then joined the demonstration, and marched on the local police station and jail. The prisoners were released. The UWP headquarters was ransacked, and the security police (UB) attacked with captured rifles. The radio station was seized and used by the workers to broadcast their views. The headquarters of the UB was not captured, and after heavy fighting the Communists—with the support of the Red Army—regained control. But that was not the end of the struggle. The Poznan events were only the dramatic manifestations of a longer and more deep-seated struggle within Polish society, between the workers and the State bureaucracy. Poznan resulted in the ousting of the arch-Stalinist, Edward Ochab, the rehabilitation of the formerly disgraced, and jailed, Gomulka, and his elevation to the position of First Secretary of the United Workers' Party. Poznan also gave rise to the so-called October Left, and the creation of Workers' Councils and the Workers' Councils' movement.

During the early days of the revolt, the Workers' Councils were, to some extent, autonomous organisations of the workers' struggles. They had a certain amount of local power and influence in the factories. Moreover, the new "liberal" government accepted the formation of Workers' Councils as a *fait accompli*. The so-called October Left within the Party looked upon the Workers' Councils as the basis of a new social relationship and the nucleus of a kind of dual political power in the country. They did not, however, have any clear understanding of what these Councils should do, or be; the October Left was unable to put forward any alternative to the system of bureaucratic State capitalism—except to attack bureaucracy in general terms and give support to the new "liberal" government and bureaucracy! In this way, as Kuron and Modzelewski (themselves libertarian "Trotskyists") admitted, the Left contributed to maintaining the power of the bureaucracy,

and in essence signed its own death warrant. Moreover, as they also point out, the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party resulted in a victory for the "liberal" wing of the bureaucracy, whose aim was in fact the stabilising of the existing system by internal reforms. A leadership was elected which, at the time at least, enjoyed considerable popularity not only within the Party, but also in the country at large. Giving up forced collectivisation met the demands of the whole country; it also benefited the *Kulaks*, the capitalist farmers and market gardeners, which has already been mentioned. The government raised the salaries of the managers and directors of factories. The workers were not given wage increases, but won them some time later through militant pressure.

Once the new "liberal" government had "found its feet", it naturally began to behave just like any other government. It was not interested in freedom, a free society, or even genuine communism. The government and the Party leadership began to govern. In the spring of 1957, the leadership of the UWP was able to begin the restoration of the monolithic "unity" of the Party; it also condemned the expansion of Workers' Councils, and the calling of a national congress of councils, as an "anarchist utopia". And by the autumn of that year, the government had the upper hand. A strike of streetcar workers in Lodz was crushed by the militia and political security police. Demonstrations were dispersed in Warsaw in October, and by the spring of the following year the Workers' Councils were virtually moribund, having been taken over by the Party and its Trade Union apparatus. Despite all this, the workers and peasants of Poland did achieve something. Living standards did improve quite considerably for some years. The 1956 revolt was not all lost.

### "FREE" FREE, AND THE COST OF LIFE

Compared with the 1919-39 period, the 1945-65 period was characterised as one of rising living standards generally. However, as Andrzej Karpinski admits in his *Twenty Years of Poland's Economic Development*, living standards in Poland during this period were not brought up to the levels of the economically front-running countries of the world. In the countries of Western Europe, he says, the bulk of family needs are financed by the individual earnings of the employee. By contrast in Poland, there is a broad range of consumption, in some cases as high as 30 to 40 per cent of total family requirements, which are satisfied by services provided "free" by the State, or with the people paying only a nominal charge. There is completely free education at all levels, free medical care, holidays organised and financed, to a large extent, by the State and extremely low rents.

Average monthly wages (excluding family allowances) amounted to approximately 1,800 zlotys in 1962, whilst top wages rose to about 5,000 zlotys. From 1955 to 1963, the average real wage in Poland rose by more than thirty-five per cent, though real wages—that is living standards—levelled out to some extent after 1964. The real income of the peasantry, according to Karpinski, rose somewhat more quickly over the



same period.

The twenty-year period up to 1965, brought a marked increase in the consumption of manufactured goods in Poland. This was particularly noticeable with regard to consumer durables, especially during the ten years from 1953 to 1963. Prior to 1953, the emphasis had been on the construction of heavy industry. According to Karpinski, the production of radios increased from 268,000 in 1953 to 487,000 in 1963; telephones from 112,000 to 285,000; motorcycles from a mere 13,700 to 150,000; bicycles from 131,000 to 663,000; washing machines from 300 to 537,000; refrigerators from 400 to 120,000 . . . and so on. Cameras, scooters, mopeds, wrist watches and TV sets were not manufactured at all in Poland in 1953. Yet ten years later almost 370,000 TV sets were made in one year! In recent years, sales of some of these durables per 1,000 of the population were not much below those of Western Europe, and considerably more than in the Soviet Union. As a result, over 3,500,000 Polish women owned washing machines and more than 1,100,000 families had TV sets by about 1966. On the other hand, automobile ownership has remained extremely low by European and American standards. Poland does not produce them,\* mainly because it has no oil wells, and the importation of much oil or petrol would put an excessive burden on her rather shaky balance of payments.

The period 1945 up to about 1965 or so, then, was a period of general increasing living standards in Poland. The increases started very slowly and were not uniform. After 1965, there was a certain levelling out. At the same time, however, Polish living standards were, as has already been noted, low by European standards generally.

The level of nutrition and food consumption also rose during the first twenty years following the war, despite the backwardness and fragmented nature of Polish agriculture. Indeed, meat consumption in Poland around 1966 or 1967 amounted to almost 50 kg. a

\*They now assemble Fiat cars in Warsaw. They sell at 180,000 zlotys each.

year compared with 17 kg. in 1939. "The considerable increase in food consumption in Poland, despite the slow and clearly inadequate development of agriculture in this period," says Andrzej Karpinski, "was made possible by the big restrictions on the exports of some farm products such as grain or livestock for slaughter. In actual fact, before the war these exports were of a hunger type, for consumption in the inter-war Poland was maintained at a low level." After the war, on the other hand, Poland became a major importer of certain farm products, especially those used for fodder. Thus, there was a fundamental change in the balance of foreign trade in agricultural produce which made possible more profound improvements in raising living standards than would from the development of the country's agriculture. However, during the last five years, the position has been largely reversed again, with Poland exporting foodstuffs—such as meat products—which Polish workers and peasants would welcome at home.

Housing construction also increased considerably after the war. Though on a fairly large scale when compared to the national income, such construction has been on a much smaller scale *per capita* than in Western Europe. Moreover, after 1959, the growth of housing construction was held back. Furthermore, as Karpinski has admitted, "Housing construction in Poland during this period could not cope with the massive influx of rural inhabitants into the towns and the high birth rate. A shortcoming of housing construction in Poland is that it is finished more poorly than in developed countries." Together with the problems of stagnation in agriculture (giving rise to certain food shortages), the acute housing problem has exacerbated the tensions and conflicts in Poland in recent years.

### PURGES AND POGROMS

Over the last five or six years there has been increasing tension, and growing contradictions, between the top UWP leadership and bureaucracy on the one

hand and the workers, peasants and "intellectuals" on the other. This first manifested itself in 1964—and was, at that time, largely political. Partly inside the Party and partly outside, opposition came mainly from "Left Communist" and "Trotskyist" students, post-graduate students and University lecturers.

In 1965, a group was arrested at Warsaw University on a charge of "hoarding and distributing anti-government literature". Among the group were Ludwig Hass, a veteran Polish Trotskyist who, when the Red Army invaded Poland in 1939, was taken to Russia by the NKVD and imprisoned in a concentration camp at Vorkuta until 1957, when he was finally released and allowed to return to Poland; Kazimierz Radowski, an economics lecturer; Roald Smiech, a young history lecturer; Karol Modzelewski, whose father had been foreign minister during the Stalinist administration, between 1947 and 1951, and his friend Jacek Kuron. Previously, in 1964, Kuron and Modzelewski had organised a meeting in support of a letter written by thirty-four lecturers against censorship and the lack of freedom in Poland. They also wrote a short manuscript criticising the Party and the bureaucracy. For this they were harassed by the political security police, had their document confiscated, imprisoned for two days and were then expelled from the United Workers' Party in November. Later, the authors after re-writing and considerably expanding their *Open Letter*, were rearrested and brought, in chains, to trial in July, 1965. In court, they defended what they had written; and when the Judge sentenced Kuron to three years and Modzelewski to three-and-a-half years in jail, workers, students and lecturers outside the court sang the *Internationale*. At his trial, Ludwig Hass—who had suffered under the pre-war régime of Pilsudsky and had spent eighteen years in Vorkuta—received three years. Radowski and Smiech were also imprisoned for three years. Hass told his judges: "You are destroying Communists just like Stalin did."

March, 1968, saw students, largely inspired by the events in Prague, demonstrating in the streets of Cracow and Warsaw. The over-reaction of the ORMO or so-called Workers' Militia increased the violence. The three days of rioting in Warsaw was actually sparked off by the expulsion from Warsaw University of two dissident students, Adam Michnik and Henryk Szlajfer. The demonstrations were followed by two weeks of sit-ins. The Warsaw First Secretary of the UWP alleged that the instigators of the demonstrations were two "bankrupt" politicians who had been demoted for their "excessive" liberalism. The students also protested against the "anti-Zionist" campaign, which was in fact an anti-Jewish and anti-intellectual campaign. Indeed, the government blamed the upheavals on "the Zionists", and there followed a pogrom against the 25,000 remaining Jews in Poland. Soon after about half of them fled the country. A victim of the purge, Zygmund Bauman, declared that the anti-Jewish campaign—which was "inspired from above"—must be seen as an "internecine political struggle which has nothing in common with any Jewish problems". Once again, many opponents of the régime were arrested. Among them were the two students, Michnik and Szlajfer, and Kuron and Modelewski, who had been released from prison before completing their full

sentences. Kuron and Modelewski went on trial on January 3, 1969. They were accused of forming an organisation for the purpose of starting demonstrations, of having organised the demonstrations in March, 1968, and of receiving a duplicator from the Secretariat of the Fourth International in Brussels. Once again, they returned to jail. On February 8, Michnik and Szlajfer, together with Babara Torunczyk and Victor Gorecki, were accused of taking part in "illegal actions", and with transmitting information to the Fourth International. The second charge, however, was dropped, but Michnik was sentenced to three years, Szlajfer and Torunczyk to two years and Gorecki to twenty months in jail. Others who had criticised the government, its cultural policies and activities, were publicly abused in the official Party press, expelled from the Party and banned from writing publicly.

\* \* \* \*

## WORK HARDER, PAY MORE

Ordinary working-class discontent had been building up for more than a year before the December, 1970, upheavals. Foreign correspondents had been reporting that the Polish economy appeared to be on the point of collapse throughout the year.

The "conservative" Stalinists had been forced to allow the "progressive" economists to prepare plans for limited reforms of the rigid centralised economy. Indeed, a few State enterprises had already been selected in 1969 to test out a new wages policy and production incentive plan. Few workers understood how they worked, however, and there was considerable discontent, small-scale spontaneous strikes and protests. Some workers, however, secured temporary adjustments. Fuel costs rose throughout the year; and the government announced that rents (relatively low it is true) would be doubled by January, 1971. The government also raised the pay of the army, the civil militia and the security police—in anticipation of trouble, no doubt! Throughout the summer months, unemployment remained at over 200,000.

During the summer of 1970, the UWP leadership received many confidential reports of food shortages. Workers demonstrated in the Silesian city of Katowice. Coalminers staged below-ground sit-ins until promised increased meat rations. Work-stoppages also occurred at the Polski-Fiat works, and at the Rosa Luxemburg lamp factory in Warsaw. The government, therefore, delayed announcing food price rises. At the end of November, Mr. Gomulka visited Zabrze in Silesia, and in a speech to miners foreshadowed the increases. He dwelt at great length on the meat problem. There had been a "deterioration in market supplies of meat", he admitted. The difficulties were, he said "acute". They were less than the Plan target by over 50%. This was because of export commitments and payment obligations vis-à-vis Britain and other "capitalist countries". The measures that the government had taken to improve the situation, he continued, would only become effective after a time. In the meantime, demand had to be balanced with supply, said Mr. Gomulka. In Zabrze, they may have been warned—

continued on page 25





# THE ANARCHIST REVOLUTION

Nestor Makhno

## I

ANARCHISM—a life of freedom and creative independence for humanity.

Anarchism does not depend on theory or on programmes which try to grasp man's life in its entirety. It is a teaching which is based on real life, which outgrows all artificial limitations, which cannot be constricted by any system.

Anarchism's outward form is a free, non-governed society which offers freedom, equality and solidarity for its members. Its foundations are to be found in man's sense of mutual responsibility which has remained unchanged in all places and at all times. This sense

of responsibility is capable of securing freedom and social justice for all men by its own unaided efforts. It is also the foundation of true communism.

Anarchism therefore is a part of human nature, communism its logical extension.

This led to the necessity of formulating anarchism's basic theories by the use of factual material and by systematised analysis. Some people (enemies of freedom, enemies of equality and of solidarity), were to try and conceal anarchism's truths or to slander its ideals; others (fighters for man's right to lead a proper life) were to develop and clarify this ideal. I think that Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, Most, Kropotkin,

Malatesta, S. Faure and others never believed, and still do not believe, that they could harness anarchism to a framework of immutable scientific dogma by their theories. Instead, the teachings of anarchism represent a concerted effort to show its roots in human nature, and to prove that man's creative achievements never deviate from it; anarchism's fundamental trait, the negation of all bondage and servitude, is likewise to be found in human nature.

Anarchism means freedom; socialism cannot destroy chains or bondage.

I am an anarchist and a revolutionary myself, and I took part in the activities of the revolutionary peoples of the Ukraine. The Ukrainians are a people who grasp instinctively the meaning of anarchist ideas and who act them out. They suffered incredible hardship, but have never ceased to talk of their freedom and freedom for their form of life. I often made tactical errors on this difficult path as I was often weak and unable to make judgements. But because I correctly understood the goal towards which I and my brothers were working, I was able to observe the effect of living anarchism during the struggle for freedom and independence. I remain convinced on the grounds of my practical fighting experience that anarchism is as revolutionary, as diverse and as sublime in every facet as is human life itself. Even if I only felt the remotest glimmer of sympathy for anarcho-revolutionary activity I would still call on you, reader and brother, to take up the struggle for the ideal of anarchism, for only if you fight for this ideal and uphold it will you understand it properly. Anarchism has grown out of human nature, and grows organically, for while it frees man from psychological bondage it turns him also into a conscious fighter against slavery. Anarchism is revolutionary in this and in many other aspects. The more awake a man is, the deeper his thoughts about his situation are. He will recognise his state of slavery and the anarchistic and revolutionary spirit within him will awake and show itself in his thoughts and actions. It is the same for every man and woman, even if they know nothing of the word anarchism, even if they could never have heard of it.

Anarchism plays a considerable role in the enrichment of human life, a fact recognised by the oppressors as well by the oppressed. The oppressors do their best to distort the ideal of anarchism, the others do their best to carry it further. Modern civilisation has succeeded in making anarchism ever more prominent for both masters and slaves, but has never been able to lull or to extinguish this fundamental protest of human nature, for it has been unable to stamp out the independent intellects who proved that God does not exist. Once this had been proven it was easy to draw back the veil which hides the artificiality of the priest-hood and the hierarchies which it supports.

But various other ideas have been propounded alongside anarchism: "liberalism", socialism and bolshevik communism. These doctrines, despite their large influence on modern society, despite their triumph over both reaction and freedom, are on shaky ground because of their artificiality, their disavowal of organic development and their tendency towards paralysis.

The free man, on the other hand, has thrown away the trammels of the past together with its lies and

brutality. He has buried the rotten corpse of slavery and notion that the past is better. Man has already partially liberated himself from the fog of lies and brutality which enslaved him from the day of his birth, from the worship of the hayonet, money, legality and hypocritical science.

While man frees himself from this insult he understands himself better, and once he has understood himself, the book of his life is opened to him. In it he immediately sees that his former life was nothing but loathsome slavery and that this framework of slavery has conspired to stifle all his innate good qualities. He sees that this life has turned him into a beast of burden, a slave for some or a master over others, or into a fool who tears down and tramples on all that is noble in man when ordered to do so. But when freedom awakes in man, it trends all artificialities into the dust and all that stands in the way of independent creativity.

This is how man moves in his process of development. In former times he moved in spans of a generation or so, but now the process is moving year by year; man does not wish to be an academic mouthpiece of the rule over others or to tolerate the rule of others over himself. Once man is free from earthly and "heavenly" Gods, free from "good manners" and from "morality" which depend on these Gods, he lifts up his voice and struggles against the enslavement of mankind and the distortion of his nature.

This man of protest, who has fully grasped his identity and who now sees with his eyes fully open, who now thirsts for freedom and totality, now creates groups of free men welded together by the ideal and by action. Whoever comes into contact with these groups will cast off his status of lackey and will free himself from the idiot domination of others over him. Any ordinary man who comes from the plough, the factory, the bench of the university or from the desk of the academic, will recognise the degradation of slavery. As man uncovers his true personality, he will throw away all artificial ideas which go against the rights of his personality, the Master/Slave relationship of modern society. As soon as man brings to the fore the pure elements in his personality through which a new, free human community is born, he will become a conscious anarchist and revolutionary. This is how the ideal of anarchism is assimilated and disseminated by man; the free man recognises its deep truth, its clarity and its purity, its message of freedom and creativity.

The idea of anarchism, the teaching of a renewed life for man as an individual and as a social being, is therefore bound up with man's self-awareness and his awareness of the suppurating sore of injustice in modern society. Anarchism exists therefore only illegally or semi-legally. Never in total legality.

In the modern world, society does not live for itself but for the preservation of the Master/Slave relationship, the State. One could go further and say that society has completely de-personalized itself. In human terms, it does not exist at all. It is widely believed however that the State is Society. But is "Society" a group of men who live it up while sitting on the shoulders of all humanity? Why is man as an individual or as a mass numbering hundreds of millions nothing in comparison with this stolid group of "political

leaders"? These hyenas, rulers both of right and left wing, are rightly upset with the idea of anarchism. The bourgeois at least are frank about this. But the State-socialists of all denominations, including the bolsheviks, are busy swapping the names of bourgeois rule with those of their own invention, while leaving its structure essentially unchanged. They are therefore trying to salvage the Master/Slave relationship with all its contradictions. And although they are aware that these contradictions are totally irreconcilable with their professed ideals, they nevertheless uphold them in order to forestall the putting into practice of Anarchist Communism. In their programmes, the State-socialists said that man must be allowed to free himself "socially". But of man's spiritual freedom, of his human freedom, no word was spoken. Instead, they are now making sure that such a liberation of man outside their tutelage cannot be carried through. "Liberation" under the management of any government or political set-up—what's that got to do with freedom? The bourgeois, who never applies himself to the task of making anything beautiful or useful, says to the worker: "Once a slave, always a slave. We cannot reform social life because we've got too much capital in industry and in agriculture. Besides, modern life is pleasant for us; all the kings, presidents and their governments cater for our wishes and bow before us. The slaves are their responsibility." Or he says: "The life of our modern society is full of great promise!"

"No, no!" scream the bourgeois socialists and communists. "We disagree!" Then they rush to the workers, marshal them into parties, and call on them to rebel as follows:

"Drive out the bourgeois from their positions and hand their power over to us. We will work for you. We will liberate you."

So the workers, whose hatred of government is even greater than their hatred of parasites, rise up in revolution to destroy the machinery of power and its representatives. But either because of clumsiness or naivety, they allow socialism to come to power. This is how the communists got into power in Russia. These communists are the real dregs of mankind. They tear down and shoot innocent people and hang liberty; they shoot men exactly as the bourgeois did. They shoot men who think differently to them in order to subjugate all to their power, in order to throttle the spirit of freedom and creativity in mankind, in order to enslave him to the throne of government they have just taken over. They hire guards for themselves and killers for dealing with free men. Under the weight of the chains made by the new "Workers' Republic" in Russia, man groans and sighs as he did under bourgeois rule. Elsewhere, man is groaning under the yoke of the bourgeoisie or under that bourgeois socialists. The hangmen, both old and new, are strong. Their methods of keeping power are efficient. They have mastered the art of tactical suppression of opposition, and man only flares up briefly to contest his rights before sinking down again under the burden of authority and despair. He drops his hands as the noose is thrown around his neck again, shutting his eyes like a slave before the gleeful hangman.

From these unfolding vistas of human misery and from personal misery, man must forgo convictions, call

other men his brothers, and fight for freedom. Man is only free if he is prepared to kill every hangman and every power magnate if they do not wish to stop their shameful tasks. He is only free if he does not put a prime on changing his government and is not led astray by the "Workers' Republic" of the bolsheviks. He must vouch for the establishment of a truly free society based on personal responsibility, the only really free society. His pronouncement on the State must be one of total destruction:

"No. This must not be. To rebellion! Rise up, brothers, against all government, destroy the power of the bourgeoisie and do not allow the socialists and bolshevik government to come to life! Destroy all authority and drive out its representatives!"

There are even moments when the authority of the socialists and communists is worse than the bourgeois, for they tear down their own ideas and trample on them. After fumbling about in secret for the keys to bourgeois government, the communists become guilty and furtive; they do not want the masses to see what they are doing, so they lie and cheat and deceive. If the masses notice this, they seethe with indignation. So the government falls upon them in an orgy of irresponsibility and butchers them in the name of "socialism" and "communism". The government has of course long since thrown these ideas into the dustbin. At such moments the rule of the socialists and bolsheviks is more degraded than that of the bourgeoisie for it is even unoriginal in its recourse to the mechanics of bourgeois oppression. While a bourgeois government will string a revolutionary up on the gallows, socialist or bolshevik-communist governments will creep up and strangle him in his sleep or kill him by trickery. Both acts are depraved. But the socialists are more depraved because of their methods.

Any political revolution in which the bourgeoisie, the socialists and state-communists struggle with each other for political ascendancy while dragging in the masses will show the traits outlined above, the most obvious example being the Russian Revolutions of February and October 1917. When the working masses which made up Tsarist Russia felt themselves partially freed from reaction, they began to work towards total freedom. They expressed this wish by expropriating landlords and monasteries and by handing over their lands to the people who wished to cultivate it without hired labour. Sometimes factories, works, presses and other businesses were taken over by those who worked in them. Attempts were made to create liaisons between towns and villages. And while they were engaged in this activity the people were of course unaware that there were governments sitting about in Kiev, Kharkov, St. Petersburg and elsewhere. The people were in fact laying the foundations for a new, free society which should throw out all parasites and governments and the ideology of power. This healthy activity was especially noticeable in the Urals, in Siberia and in the Ukraine. It was remarked upon by the old as well as the new regimes in Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev and Tiflis. But the socialists as well as the bolsheviks had (and still have) a widely dispersed party membership and a well-distributed network of professional killers. It must be added that besides these professional killers they also hired people from our own ranks. With the

help of these people they managed to nip the people's freedom in the bud. And they did a good job. The Spanish Inquisition would have gone green with envy.

We now know the real truths behind government. To the bolsheviks and socialists we say: "Shame! Disbance! You talked such a lot about the terror of the bourgeoisie and you took the side of revolution with great zeal. But now you're in power you show yourselves the same old fools, the same lackeys of the bourgeoisie and slaves of their methods. You've turned yourselves into bourgeois." Looking at the experiences of bolshevik communism during recent years, the bourgeois know perfectly well that this particular brand of socialism can never manage without using their methods or without hiring them in person. It knows that the exploitation and suppression of the



working majority is inherent in this system, that the vicious life of sloth is not cast aside in socialism but that it merely masquerades under another name before spreading and taking root again.

This is the Truth! You've only got to look at the bolshevik vandals and their monopoly over the people's revolutionary conquests! Look at their spies, their police, their laws, prisons, jails and their armies of bailiffs. The "Red" Army is only the old army under a new name.

Liberalism, socialism, bolshevism. They are three brothers who go their different ways to grab power over man. This power is used to block man's advance towards self-realization and independence.

## TO REBELLION!

This is the cry of the anarchist-revolutionary to the exploited. Rebel, destroy all government and see that it never takes root again. Power is used by those who have never really lived by the work of their hands. Government power will never let workers tread the road to freedom; it is the instrument of the lazy who want to dominate others, and it does not matter if power is in the hands of the bourgeois, the socialists or the bolsheviks, it remains degrading. There is no government without teeth, teeth to tear any man who longs for a free and just life.

Brother: drive out power in yourself. Never let it fascinate you or your brothers. A true collective life is not built with programmes or with governments but with the freedom of mankind, with his creativity and his independence.

The freedom of any individual carries within it the seed of a free and complete community without government, a free society which lives in organic and decentralized totality, united in its pursuit of the great human goal: Anarchist Communism!

## II

Anarchistic Communism is a great community in total harmony. It is formed voluntarily by free individuals who form associations and federations according to their needs.

Anarchistic Communism fights to secure man's freedom and his right to boundless development, it fights against all the evils and injustices which are inherent in governments.

The free, non-governed society aims to embellish life with its intellectual and manual work. It will have as its resources all that nature gave to man as well as nature's own inexhaustible riches; it makes man drunk with the beauty of the earth and exhilarated by his own, self-made freedom. Anarchist Communism will let man develop his creative independence in all directions; its adherents will be free and happy with life, guided by brotherly work and reciprocity. They will need no prisons, hangmen, spies or agents, which are products of the bourgeoisie and socialists, for they will have no need of the idiot robber and murderer which is the State. Prepare yourselves, brothers, to create this society! Prepare organisations and ideas! Remember that your organisations must be safe from attack. The enemy of your freedom is the State, personified in five figures:

- (1) The property owner.
- (2) The lover of war.
- (3) The judge.
- (4) The priest.
- (5) Academics who distort the truth about man.

These last make up "Historical Laws" and "Judiciary Norms", and scribble slickly in order to get money; they are busy all the time trying to prove the rightfulness of the first four's claims to power which degrades human life.

The enemy is strong. For millennia he has spent his time accumulating experience in robbery, violence, expropriation and murder. He underwent an inner crisis and is now busy changing his outward aspect, but he is only doing this because his life has been threatened with the new, emerging knowledge. This new knowledge is waking man up from his long sleep, freeing him from prejudices implanted by the five, giving him a weapon to fight for his true society. This change in the outer appearance of our enemy can be seen in reformism. It was evolved to combat the revolution in which we took part. In the Russian Revolution the "five" seemed to have vanished off the face of the earth . . . but this was only appearance. In reality our enemy changed his features momentarily

and is now calling up new recruits to fight against us. Bolshevism communism is especially revealing in this matter; but it will be a long time before this doctrine will forget man's struggle for true freedom.

The only reliable method for waging a successful struggle against enslavement is social revolution which engages the masses in a continual struggle (evolution). When it first erupts, social revolution is elemental. It flattens the path for its own organization while smashing any dam which is artificially set against it. These dams in fact only increase its power. Anarchist revolutionaries are already working for this, and any man who is aware of the burden of slavery on himself has a duty to aid the anarchist; at the same time every man should feel responsible to the whole of mankind when he struggles against the five of the State. Every man should also remember that the social revolution will require appropriate methods of realization: this is especially true of the anarchist who is scouting ahead along the road to freedom. During the destructive phase of revolution, while slavery is being abolished and freedom beginning to spread in an elemental outburst, organisation and steadfast methods are essential to secure the gains. In this phase the revolution needs you most urgently. The Russian Revolution, in which anarchists played a considerable role (which they could not carry through because action was denied to them), brought home to us the truth that the masses who have torn themselves loose from their chains had no desire to put on others of a different make. In their revolutionary momentum, they sought immediately for free associations which would not only aid their efforts to build up a new community but which would defend them against the enemy. If we look at this process closely we come to the conclusion that the best method to create new collective freedom is the Free Soviet. Proceeding from this conviction, the anarchist revolutionary will call the enslaved to struggle for these free associations. He will believe that social revolution will thus create freedom while smashing slavery



NESTOR MAKINO.

altogether. This belief must be cherished and defended. The only people who can possibly provide the defence for this belief are the masses themselves who have made the revolution and who equate their lives with their principles. While the human masses create the revolution they instinctively cast about for free associations and rely on their inherent anarchism: they will uphold above all the Free Soviet. As the masses make a revolution they are bound to come upon this themselves and the anarchist must help them formulate this principle.

Economic problems in the free society will be resolved by the producer-consumer co-operatives in which the Free Soviets will act as co-ordinators and clarifiers. The nature of the Free Soviet during the social revolution must be to consolidate the masses' position by urging them to take their rightful inheritance (land, factories, works, mineral and coal mines, shipping, forestry, etc.) into their own hands. While groups according to interest or inclination are formed, the masses will build up an entire social fabric, freely and independently.

The struggle along this road will demand great sacrifice, for it will be the final effort of nearly-free man. In this struggle there will be no hesitation, no sentimentality. Life or Death!—this question will stand before every man who considers his rights and those of humanity to a better life. As the healthy instincts of man will have preponderance, he will embark upon this road to life as the victor and creator.

Organise yourselves, brothers, call every man to your ranks. Call him from the factory, from the school, call the students and the learned. It may be that nine out of ten academics will not come to you, or it may happen that they will come in order to deceive you if they are servants of the State five. But the tenth man will come. He will be your friend and will help you overcome the deceit of the others. Organize yourselves, call every man to your ranks, call on all the governors to stop their stupidity and the brutalizing of human life. If they do not desist, disarm the police; the army and other organisations of the five's defence. Burn their laws and destroy their prisons, kill the hangmen, the bane of mankind. SMASH AUTHORITY. Call to your ranks the press-ganged army; there are many killers in the army who are against you and who are bribed to kill you. But there are friends for you, even in the army; they will confound the mobs of murderers and will hurry to your side.

After we have collected ourselves into a great, universal family, brothers, we will go further in the fight against darkness. On to the universal human ideal! We will live as brothers, enslaving no one. The brute force of the enemy will be answered with force by our revolutionary army. If our enemies do not agree with our ideals, we will reply by building our new life based on individual responsibility. Only hardened criminals who belong to the five will not wish to tread the road to a new life with fruitful activity. They will try to fight us in order to regain their power. They must die.

Long live the ideal of universal human harmony and man's fight towards it! Long live the ideal of anarchist society!

(Translated by Mike Jones.)

# American Conservative Anarchism

Kingsley Widmer

NEW REFORMATION: NOTES OF A NEOLITHIC CONSERVATIVE by Paul Goodman. (U.S.A.: Random House, \$5.95.)

READING YET ANOTHER of Paul Goodman's books becomes an exasperated wash of admiration and irritation. Let me summarize a few of his merits first. As the best known American anarchist, Goodman serves as an almost indispensable intellectual detergent in the muddy scenes of the political ideologues. His distinctive libertarian voice lightens all sorts of things. While the rightists are right that there's a lot of anarchism around these days—it is a recurrent curse word with such vicious characters as Vice-President Agnew who, of course, confuses it with the chaos he helps engender—anarchism's singing brightness doesn't get much seen and heard. Unlike some other countries, America has little in the way of *recognized* anarchism—no long continuing group, no sustained quality publications, no press, and little self-conscious anarchist tradition, in spite of a varied libertarian heritage and a considerable number of such radicals. (In each of the half dozen universities in which I have taught, I've soon found another avowed anarchist—usually a Professor of English or History or Philosophy, sometimes more academically marginal fields, but never in the political or social-racketeering sciences—and one can safely bet that there are hundreds of them.) As with so many things American, its anarchism, too, is fragmented, amorphous, often oddly combined with other views or almost perversely obscured. But that is part of the confusion which also makes America bearable.

Paul Goodman, then, is especially important in his role as self-identified anarchist and as a public spokesman for many traditional anarchist responses. This includes not just anti-statism and anti-bureaucracy but positive decentralization of power and more direct democracy at work and school and play. Indeed, Goodman is at least temperamentally distinguishable from other anarchists these days in putting greater emphasis on "practical proposals" than on radical resistance. While he has often aligned himself with the radical pacifists—"anarcho-pacifism" is probably the major, and certainly most heroic, American libertarian tradition of the past century—their individualist defiance (acts of disobedience, going to jail, etc.) is not part of Goodman's character. Putting a good construction on it, he often says that

it is much more valuable for an anarchist to be "positive", "heartening", to suggest another, and more humanly proportionate, way of doing things.

Radical libertarians devalue hierarchy and elitism and encourage communal sense and small-group initiative. Again, Goodman puts his emphasis more on the encouraging than on the devaluing. Both, of course, are essential to real freedom and direct action, to the kind of radicalism that provides the only major alternative on the left to Leninist conspiratorial vanguardism. We would not expect Goodman to show much perception on how to refuse, strike, disrupt, or otherwise fight the system. But he does have much to say about schools, therapies, ideas of communities.

The charge is probably correct that most anarchists have "a thing about authority". Goodman has less of this than many and even seems rather conservative on many issues of "authority" and "legitimacy". However, I think it would be fair to summarize his best view this way: he would replace authority-by-force with authority-by-example of those who know and do. (Goodman has had, in the sixties, an enthusiastic student following but much less so now; one of their correct charges has been "implicit elitism" of a rather traditional sort.) While Goodman doesn't like most political authority, it is quite obvious, as one looks through his non-political works, that he has an almost neo-classical reverence for intellectual and cultural authorities. (Recently he had the bad taste to quote, repeatedly, Aristotle on the family and the role of women, on which he is rather antique, to a student audience well-salted with militant women liberationists. Their general response was that Aristotle, Goodman, and male chauvinism were all one to be put down.)

In further definition, we might note that Goodman's anarchism, unlike that usually found in Europe, is *a-historical*—little sense of identity with leftist movements, syndicalism, underclasses; no reference to Italian, Russian or Spanish anarchism; and only minor concern with most of the traditional disputes of the left. The overlooked crux here is that Goodman is basically anti-socialist, in economics as well as in intellectual identity. In contrast, much of the revival of anarchism in contemporary America has been as "libertarian socialism". (See, for example, Noam Chomsky's "Introduction" to the just published American translation of Daniel Guérin's *Anarchism*.) However, Goodman, at least in the past, has strongly identified with the "utopian" tradition, with the ideal possibilities of schools and communities, and from this comes, I think, some of his best work, such as his book *Communitas*.

*New Reformation* again applies such radicalism to America's overproduction of arbitrary schooling, fatuous techniques, professional class immorality, autocratic organization and politics of resentment, right and left. The very loose theme linking these together is that all such issues show a crisis of values akin to that of the sixteenth century reformation. Goodman's view can only intermittently be identified as anarchist in specific senses. Yet, implicitly, he suggests that anarchism is less an ideology than a demand for more humane and responsive proportions in the organization of modern life.

Much can be learned here from Goodman. Still, even a fellow anarchist often finds him hard to take, especially in book-length immersions. Part-time anarchist Norman Mailer rightly insisted that Goodman's style often belongs in a laundry bag (*Armies of the Night*). This goes beyond dulled descriptions and relentless staining with clichés and slopped-out arguments to a downright messy incompetence—and sometimes on his best issues. Who but another anarchist could even understand his murky references to "workers' control"—perhaps the most central modern anarchist demand? Or to "Intermediate Technology"? (He refers to E. F. Schumacker's fine argument that what the "underdeveloped" need is a limited technical improvement which enriches their way of life rather than the destructive modernization which imposes our way of life.) Even in poignant personal description, such as the long section on the ethics of his dead young son, Goodman lacks a full sense of the dramatic and immediate and richly human. One

of our better social critics insists on being one of our poorer writers.

I don't want to belabour the "literary" point, except at it raises several other problems. Historically, much of Goodman's anarchism comes out of literary-bohemian radical libertarianism—the anti-politics of the modernist artist. He sees himself as first a poet, a writer, and constantly refers to that role. About half of his writing aims to be literature in the usual senses: poems, novels, stories, plays, autobiography and literary criticism. Most of it I judge to be mediocre, or worse, as literature. But I won't pursue that argument here. However, it has another significance: Goodman constantly refers to himself "as a poet" or man of letters, the rebellious artist examining the social scene, the special sensibility with a distinctive role. While that earlier bohemian notion that the rebel must have an identity as an artist no longer looms so large in the contemporary "counter culture", we can see other reasons for it in Goodman. It is hard in contemporary America to be taken seriously as an anarchist—perhaps finally even by one's self. But as an artist, and homosexual, who is a social rebel—that's different! However, when he practices his "utility as a citizen" and writes social criticism, this excuses him from doing a carefully sustained piece of work. So we get the sloppy argument, the weary aside, the pathetic plea, the personal irritation. Part of Goodman's peculiarity here is more than personal—the larger problem of place and performance for a perceptive radical in a competitive and rejecting society. The burden of psychic and stylistic scar tissue often seems large, and disfiguring.

Goodman's harsh remarks against "irresponsible alienated" intellectuals and writers seem true, and confessional. The bathetic egotism of many of his remarks should be placed in this context of outsidership. For years, Goodman could only get published, and fed, through the grace of friends who had little sympathy with his anarchist views. Then, in the late 1950s, came celebritydom in the role of public moralist—mentor of the rebellious young, much in demand as a campus speaker and a representative radical libertarian. From *Growing Up Absurd* on, Goodman was identified with the rebellious young, those he then (and still) calls his "crazy young allies". But during the sixties they became the neo-Marxist New Left and the "counter-culture", to neither of which Goodman was sympathetic. Only with a sense of this history can one understand that much of the *New Reformation* is devoted to an attack on the radical young. Some of the points are well made, as when Goodman argues that most of the effectiveness of the American New Left comes not from its tiresome neo-Marxist rhetoric but from its anarchist sensibility and style of direct action.

But much of the emphasis against the young seems irrelevant, not just injured egotism but an inability to recognize that the New Left and the "youth culture" contain the major libertarian forces now at work in America. We have to excuse Goodman's ponderous role-playing, as when he identifies himself as "one of the half-dozen elder statesmen who have provided propositions and points of view that the young have picked up". In fact, the radical American young got their anarchism from all sorts of weird places—from the preceding Beat writers, from artist-prophets like Ken Kesey, from their twisting exotic religions such as Zen Buddhism into libertarian moralities, from the radically defiant side of the indigenous leftism, and so on. But let us look at this scolding of the dissident young in terms of one of the anarchist arguments in *New Reformation*.

On one of his favourite issues, American education, Goodman makes the shocking argument, to most Americans, that we have too much education. He holds that "so much schooling for so many is not a good idea . . . the majority of so-called students in college and high schools do not want to be there and ought not to be. An academic environment is not the appropriate means of education for most young people, including the bright".

Here he wisely corrects the institutional-ameliorist view that all will be well if only we had more schools and schooling. (Doesn't that curiously parallel the reactionary view that all will be well if only we

had more police and policing?) Surely the increase in education processing and imitation elitism, as well as the increase in phony "professionalism" and other dehumanizing and oppressive division of labour, less expresses "the life of the mind" than its gross exploitation. The anarchist, of course, recognizes that in modern Western societies the inflated schooling disguises means of class indoctrination and state custodial power. In America, education may not yet have passed militarism as our biggest industry (it is close) but it may have as our biggest racket and fraud.

Many of Goodman's principles of educational reformation seem quite sensible, and much indebted to earlier libertarians. For young children, he argues for less imposed pedagogy and for more free and various learning activity. (Such libertarian educational views, as propounded also by John Holt, Herbert Kohl, George Dennison, and many others, are spreading widely.) For adolescents, Goodman would replace most formal secondary schooling with "on-going activities" in the community and with supported but autonomously self-ruled "youth communities". And for young adults, he would drop most formal schooling for apprenticeship in real vocations. Higher education, colleges and universities, should be drastically cut-back from pseudo-training and union-carding and time-serving. (Curiously, Goodman says nothing of their social elitism, though that is also one of their main functions.) "College training should follow, rather than precede [non-school experience and apprenticeships in] the professions." In sum, we should encourage meaningful work and freedom in the world for people, not endless academic indoctrination and busy work for inmates, which is the larger part of contemporary education.

In theory, this is an admirable argument; in exposition, it serves the excellent libertarian function of calling in question the dominant view of the well-intentioned to believe that doses of education (and money and administration) will correct the patent evils of an arbitrary, exploitative and destructive social order, and give an impossible coherence to an insane mass technological civilization. But where Goodman goes wrong is in turning the argument towards moral posturing—especially in castigating the radical students—and not following it into social actuality. Not only does he repeatedly leave the issues to hector the left for not taking his view of education (anti-education in the U.S., after all, has traditionally been a populist-conservative position), but he doesn't ask how we can move towards more libertarian views of schooling. Putting his slogan of "apprenticeship" into American reality, without other drastic institutional changes, is, in fact, a reactionary view. Surely, Goodman must realize the fatuousness and arbitrariness of most jobs in factories and offices and businesses and professions, even if he has had no experience with them. Since colleges become uncontrollable collectives of students these days, there is certainly more freedom there than there would be in isolating and controlled apprenticeships in other American institutions. The increase in schooling in the last two generations (more than 60% of all Californian high school graduates go to college for a while), probably matches the decrease in meaningful alternatives of work and place and escape in a competitive and fragmenting society. As things now stand in most non-academic institutions, Goodman's insistence on "schooling-on-the-job" would be about as humane and free as enlisting in the Marine Corps to get an education and see the world (such as members of the underclasses are driven to). The moralist has expounded good libertarian principles but ignored the social reality.

Furthermore, the dissident students whom he scolds actually now attempt to turn educational institutions into Goodman's unacademic "youth communities". They are more realistic anarchists than he is: the great radical principle in modern societies must be to subvert institutions, liberate them. With a high dudgeon surprisingly like that of the self-interested "liberal" professorate, Goodman disapproves. The young, he says, hypocritically pretend to be students, which confuses what little real schooling and intellectual dialectic may be found in the hired learning. (Goodman's hidden assumptions here include



an unwarranted exaltation and authority for the orthodox traditions of humanism and science, which must be protected against the scornful or indifferent student barbarians.) For the students (and the minority of radical professors) to turn universities into "soul" centres for the underclasses, or communes for dissident lifestyles, or political bases for left-militants, may well be better than the nasty "class" purposes they served in the past or the dangerous mass indoctrination-custodial purposes they mostly serve at present. To confuse the institutions with the humanism and science which rationalize them in a conservative, not a libertarian, principle. A proper anarchist response in our society is to twist institutions into more humane purposes, and where better than hired education?

Goodman admits that many of his proposals are "tinkering" with the system. While I don't want to rehash again the old disputes on reform vs. revolution, it should be evident that for "tinkering" to be libertarian, it must respond with a radical sense of current society. Goodman has partly succeeded in becoming a recognized public moralist in America because he obscures the radical nature, and requirements, of his "practical proposals". And Goodman knows it or he would not, repeatedly, and with self-mystifying charm, describe himself as a "conservative anarchist".

The *New Reformation*, far more than Goodman's earlier books, seems defensive, though whether most defending his conservatism or his anarchism is not always clear. At least three times in the book he somewhat embarrassedly fends off the more radical like this: "If they are right . . . about our inability [to make radical changes with moderate methods] there is no solution but the apocalypse." Understandably, he wants no such insight. The good man's dilemma these days is that he abhors destruction and tyranny, and so reasonably argues that the neo-Leninism (Maoism, *et al*) which increasingly covers and reshapes our radicalism may well lead to "violent collective change" which "would certainly be totalitarian, whatever the ideology". (This he qualifies, wisely, by adding that he does not condemn our protest movements' "venial sins" since "the most brutal and destructive acts will continue to come from those in power".) Currently in America, the problem is a real one because, repeating the "propaganda of the deed" of the late nineteenth century, some radical libertarians (whatever they call themselves) have taken up, or give some support, to partial forms of terrorism. We anarchists, I think, can reject terrorism and conspiratorial actions as usually futile, without becoming conservatives and fearful moralists. In societies with little public freedom but considerable personal freedom, resistance and change and radicalism can find other ways. Whether they will succeed is certainly debatable, and Western civilization is certainly well advanced in its drive towards an apocalyptic end, but, unlike the orthodox Marxists, we need not deify historical progressions and "inevitabilities" over our radical libertarian views.

Goodman is a libertarian of sufficient non-sectarian perception to know this, to know that radical change and not just his arch "tinkering" with the system are essential. As he says, "unless freedoms are extended they are whittled away." Radical liberation cannot be conserved, only created. That is one of the great anarchist insights.

Since Goodman is aware that the deepest revolution is always more than political and institutional, his basic but ragged theme is that we are now in a "cultural and religious crisis", evident in a "break-down of belief". He cites the loss of legitimacy of fathers and teachers and rulers. I see much good in that, though Goodman apparently doesn't, and believe that anarchists should finally prefer chaos to repressive order. Though several times Goodman suggests the "emergence of a new belief", he doesn't have one and what he really hopes for, as his title indicates, is simply a purging and renewal of the old beliefs, a reformation. Thus a "transformation of conscience"—especially with the scientists and technicians and other professional keepers of the modern pieties—will redirect our over-technologized and misordered society, revivify our corrupt culture, undercut our imperial

power and role, and morally recreate disintegrating community. For an anarchist, Goodman expects rather much from the moral reform of the new technocratic elites. In contrast, I would suggest more truly radical faith—if any is justified—in students and other rebels, in the underclasses and outcast, in individual and communal resistance in the places that we are at.

Goodman plays now and again with his metaphor of the Protestant Reformation applied to our times but doesn't pursue it rigorously. As many scholars have made clear (see G. H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* for a moderate account), the defeat of the antinomians was the defeat of most radical libertarianism in the reformation. We ex-Protestants are rather more suspicious than Goodman of the dubiously heroic professionals he identifies with as keeping the faith without turning into righteous little Calvins and Luthers and Cromwells instituting a new puritanism while crucifying our anabaptists of the rebellious culture. I want a radically liberated society—some of which is taking place, in fact, around us—not a Miltonic call to moral virtue, which is what part of Goodman's essential view amounts to.

It also seems to me that Goodman sometimes confuses the Whore of Babylon with the reforming moralist, as in his defence of the American Space Programme. He compares the moon missiles, favourably, to Cathedrals. In their futility, wastefulness and elitist control and social function they should be compared to barbaric pyramids, for which they are the technological substitutes. Goodman's logic seems to be that of the conservative's bread-and-circuses—the big technological exploits are about the only good shows going. Granted, Goodman is never without some perceptiveness, as when he notes that "to command the Moon landing was the only [positive] action of John Kennedy that fitted his adolescent mentality". But we would expect an anarchist poet to go further and note the adolescent nihilism of the yearning for inhuman space and the pathological flight from our tangible earth realities. Or to suggest that blowing up a missile would be even more appropriate than blowing up a university, for those impelled to such desperate drama. But Goodman does not, because as conservative moralist he hankers for decent rituals, expert professionalism, vestigial legitimacy, traditional scientific-humanistic culture, and some sense of neoclassical order in present life. So he settles for hectoring scientist-engineers on their social responsibility, the young on their ignorant and disrespectful radicalism, and the rest of us for not recognizing the libertarian insights of our conservative-anarchist "elder statesman".

There are, I agree, some interesting points where conservatives and anarchists share, outside reformist and institutional rationalizing politics, some similar perceptions and views. But with Goodman, the conservative moralist, a public figure, and the libertarian anarchist, a lonely one, don't wash well together. I would rather believe that it is a failure in social awareness than merely personal pique which makes for the contradictions and for his insistence on being "sour on the American young". But in criticizing Goodman for falling away from his own radical libertarianism, I don't mean to "read him out" of anything. We can also learn from conservative anarchists, and Goodman's frequently suggestive, if muddy and irritating, mind. He has some utility as well as courage in his confusions. And no doubt he is right in certain essential points, such as that we can best educate the young by protecting them from too much schooling, best move society by envisioning new possibilities, and best develop anarchism by never treating it as a dogma or thing in itself. Good natural anarchism partly redeems Goodman from his own intellectual dirty laundry as, indeed, such waywardness as his partly helps redeem America from its dirty ways.



# Bakunin and Marx on Nationalism

Stephen P. Halbrook

ONE OF THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL POINTS of divergence in the Bakunin-Marx rift has been lost in the maze of the more general debates on anarchism versus statism. That point is the question of nationalism. The nature of their dispute on nationalism is not merely of historical interest, for beyond that interest looms questions such as the true nature of anarchism and Marxism, national self-determination and imperialism, and internationalism and reactionary nationalism. "Nationalism" itself encompasses many categories, some revolutionary and some reactionary, and many of these were discussed and made clearer by the antagonists. Yet in the context of the dispute between Bakunin and Marx, the subject can be reduced to two basic points of departure. First is the contradiction between imperialism and national self-determination, which arises between a "civilized" state and other peoples considered "backward" which that state oppresses. Second is the contradiction between "civilized" states themselves, which reaches its zenith when one of the two invades the other.

Throughout his life Bakunin defended the cause of Slav liberation from the imperialists on the East and West, and personally participated and played a leading role in East European insurrections. In 1846 Austria annexed Cracow, where a peasant insurrection had broken out. Bakunin agitated from Paris on their behalf and called for revolution in Russia and a federation of free Slav peoples. When the French Revolution of 1848 began fizzling, he rushed to Poland, stopping along the way to show peasants how to burn barons' castles. At the Prague Congress Bakunin advocated revolution to break the power of the Austrian and Russian governments. He organized Slovaks, Moravians, Croats and Serbs into a secret revolutionary society, and when a new insurrection broke out in Prague on June 12, he was everywhere at once, from the barricades encouraging the fighters to rebel head-

quarters planning strategy. The Czech bourgeoisie applauded the suppression of the insurgents, making clear that the national struggle was at the same time a class struggle. Bakunin recognized this in his famous *Appeal to the Slavs*, arguing for the rising of all Eastern European working classes and of the Russian peasantry. The "emancipation of the peoples within and without" required both national liberation and social revolution. After escaping from Siberia in 1861 Bakunin was once more agitating on behalf of the Slavs from Western Europe, and in 1863 cast his lot with the fighters on the *Ward Jackson*, who were sailing to join the guerrillas at war with Russian soldiers in East Europe. The ship never reached its destination due to the treachery of the captain, and the revolt was later crushed. Bakunin continued agitating from West Europe, and later organized a Slav section of the First International.

The differences between Marxism and anarchism became clear early when Engels attacked Bakunin's *Appeal to the Slavs* in an article "Democratic Pan-slavism", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, February 1849. The polemic begins with these words:

We have before us the program of democratic Pan-slavism in form of a pamphlet entitled "Manifesto to the Slavs", by a Russian patriot, Michael Bakunin, member of the Slav Congress in Prague, published in Koethen, 1848.

Bakunin is our friend. This will not deter us from criticizing his pamphlet.

Let us see how Bakunin, at the very beginning of his proclamation, links up with the illusions of last March and April: "The very first sign of life of the Revolution was a cry of hate against the old repression, a cry of sympathy and love for all the suppressed nationalities. The peoples . . . at last felt the shame with which the old diplomacy had burdened mankind, and recognized that the well-being of nations will never be secured as long as anywhere in Europe a single people lives under the yoke. . . . Away with oppressors! sounded as one

voice; hail to the oppressed, the Poles, the Italians and all others! No more wars of conquest, but still one last war fought to the finish, the good fight of the Revolution for the final liberation of all peoples. Down with the artificial barriers which were forcibly erected by congresses of despots, according to so-called historic, geographic, commercial and strategic necessities! . . ."

Engels proceeded to argue extensively against the right of peoples to be free, claiming that German imperialism was necessary for the "historical development" of Eastern Europe. "But without force and without an iron ruthlessness nothing is accomplished in history" was Engels' excuse. Declaring "political centralization" a great boon to humanity, he adds: "And now the Pan-slavists come and demand that we should 'free' these half-Germanized Slavs, that we should suspend a centralization which is pressed upon these Slavs by all their material interests."<sup>2</sup> Possibly it was not so clear to the rebellious Slav peasants that their "material interests" were enhanced by domination of the Western exploiters.

As for Bakunin's belief in the right of all peoples to be free, Engels scornfully remarked:

And will Bakunin reproach the American people for waging a war which to be sure deals a severe blow to his theories based on "Justice and Humanity", but which none the less was waged solely in the interests of civilization? Or is it perhaps a misfortune that the splendid land of California has been wrested from the lazy Mexicans who did not know what to do with it? . . . Because of this the "independence" of a few Spanish Californians and Texans may suffer, occasionally "Justice" and other moralistic principles may be injured, but what do they count compared to such world historic events?<sup>3</sup>

Apparently Engels deemed it in the "interests of civilization" that chattel slavery, abolished by President Guerrero in 1829, was reintroduced in those territories, just as Polk and the Southern slavocracy planned. Thus, when Engels declares "material progress" as his categorical imperative, he does not refer to the material progress of slaves, nor indeed of "a few Spanish Californians and Texans", the Indian tribes the US government had long before began its policy of genocide against, and all peoples whose—material and spiritual—oppression was enhanced as a result of the US aggression against Mexico. As the *Communist Manifesto* made clear, all these classes were "reactionary" and the material progress of the bourgeoisie was the ideal to be eulogized.

Marx and Engels never changed their minds on the Slavic question, giving sufficient warrant to Bakunin's warning as late as 1873: "Not only are we averse to the idea of persuading our Slav brothers to join the ranks of the Social-Democratic party of German workers, headed by the duumvirate invested with dictatorial power—Marx and Engels—followed by Bebel, Liebknecht, and a few Jewish litterateurs. On the contrary, we shall use all efforts to turn the Slavic proletariat away from a suicidal union with that party, which, by its tendency, aims, and means, is not a folk party, but a purely bourgeois party, and is in addition a German party, that is, anti-Slavic."<sup>4</sup>

The principles debated on the Slav question became the basis for more general principles advocated by Marxism and anarchism respectively in later years.

Ironically, the real nature of the two views on the national question as originally presented are virtually unknown today, in that Marx has been totally revised and Bakunin forgotten.

The general Marxian position was first stated in the *Communist Manifesto*. Extolling the virtues of the bourgeoisie, who supposedly were great civilizers, Marx and Engels made the claim that imperialism was progressive:

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.<sup>5</sup>

Referring to this passage and the *Manifesto* argument that the industrial proletariat should be a new ruling class, Bakunin wrote in *Statism and Anarchy*:

One may ask then: if the proletariat is to be the ruling class, over whom will it rule? The answer is that there will remain another proletariat which will be subjected to this new domination, this new State. It may be, for example, the peasant "rabble", which, as we know, does not stand in great favor with the Marxists, and who, finding themselves on a lower level of culture, probably will be ruled by the city and factory proletariat; or considered from the national point of view, the Slavs, for instance, will assume, for precisely the same reason, the same position of slavish subjection to the victorious German proletariat which the latter now holds with respect to its own bourgeoisie.<sup>6</sup>

This was no idle speculation on Bakunin's part, for a year after the *Manifesto*—in his "Democratic Pan-slavism"—Engels did in fact advocate dictatorship by the German bourgeoisie or proletariat (whichever happened to be in power) over the Slavs. "We [Germans] and the Magyars ought to guarantee the Austrian Slavs their independence—so Bakunin demands," Engels says, and responds: "We will not think of it," for "hatred of Russia" and of "the Czechs and Croats" is "the first revolutionary passion of Germans," and opts for "a battle of annihilation and ruthless terrorism" against Slav liberation.<sup>7</sup> In a famous letter to Kautsky dated September 12, 1882 Engels argues that the proletariat should take over the colonies the bourgeoisie had captured and keep them for a period of time.<sup>8</sup> Today, Maoists like to denounce Russian "social-imperialism"; they do not seem to know that Engels was the founder of the theory of social-imperialism. In his *Letters to a Frenchman* Bakunin presented his critique of bourgeois imperialism and what amounted to social-imperialism:

But do you realize that with this principle one could easily justify any kind of conquest and oppression? The bourgeoisie have always fallen back upon that principle to prove their mission and their right to govern or, what amounts to the same thing, to exploit the world of labor. In conflicts between nations as well as between classes this fatal principle, which is simply the principle of authority, explains and poses as a right all invasions and conquests. Did not the Germans always put forth this

principle by way of justifying their attempts upon the liberty and independence of the Slavic peoples, and of legitimizing the violent and forcible Germanization of the latter? That, they say, is the victory of civilization over barbarism.

Beware, the Germans already are remarking that the German Protestant civilization is much superior to the Catholic civilization of the peoples of the Latin race in general, and of the French civilization in particular. Beware lest the Germans soon imagine that their mission is to civilize you and to make you happy, just as you now imagine that it is your mission to civilize and forcibly free your compatriots, your brothers, the peasants of France. To me both claims are equally hateful, and I declare to you that in international relations, as well as in the relations of one class to another, I will be on the side of those to be civilized in this manner. Together with them I will revolt against all those arrogant civilizers—whether they call themselves Germans or workers—and in rebelling against them I shall serve the cause of revolution against reaction.<sup>9</sup>

An important volume recently published is *Karl Marx on Colonialism and Modernization*,<sup>10</sup> which is a 450-page collection of Marx's writings on China, India, Mexico, the Middle East, and North Africa. Shlomo Avineri, the editor, sums up the consensus of the articles in these words:

Since Marx postulates the ultimate victory of socialism on the prior universalization of capitalism, he necessarily arrives at the position of having to endorse European colonial expansion as a brutal but necessary step toward the victory of socialism. . . .

The horrors of colonialism are dialectically necessary for the world revolution of the proletariat since without them the countries of Asia (and presumably also Africa) will not be able to emancipate themselves from their stagnant backwardness.

Marx's view of European—and particularly British—colonial expansion is determined by these dialectical considerations. Consequently, Marx's views on imperialism can be painfully embarrassing to the orthodox communist; there certainly is a deep irony in the fact that while Marx's writings on European industrialization are always the first to be used and quoted by non-European Marxists, his writings on India and China are hardly known or even mentioned by them. The Maoists in particular seem to be totally unaware of them; they certainly make much of their particular brand of Marxism look very much out of touch with Marx himself.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, for instance, Marx claimed that in India the British were laying the basis of a new civilization. He adds that the British created a native army to hold the Indians in check, but that this army would later guarantee Indian "self-emancipation".<sup>12</sup> Apparently Marx's "dialectic" played a trick on him, for today we see in the famine stricken, flesh rotting streets of Bombay the results of British imperialism just as we observe that the army the British created has preserved foreign investments and the feudal land monopoly and has made India a tool of anti-Communism. Another typical example is Engels' statement in 1848: "The conquest of Algeria is an important and fortunate fact for the progress of civilisation."<sup>13</sup> He left unanswered how the slaughtering of thousands of peasants and the monopolizing of all agricultural lands by a small elite of colonist exploiters

for over a hundred years was in the interests of "civilisation". As one avowed Marxist admits: "It was only later, when the unreality of these various assumptions became clear with the revelation of the true nature of imperialist exploitation, that Marxism dumped this whole approach and called for determined resistance to imperialist expansion all along the line, and for the quickest possible ending of imperialist domination in those areas on which it had fastened itself."<sup>14</sup> In other words, modern "Marxists" have adopted the position of Marx's antagonist Bakunin.

Bakunin wrote: "We want full freedom for all nations, with the right of self-determination for every people in conformity with their own instincts, needs, and will."<sup>15</sup> In his famous pamphlet defending this notion, the only real example Lenin attempted to give where Marx advocated such was Ireland. Lenin bragged about Marx supposedly advocating "the emancipation of Ireland" being "achieved in a revolutionary way."<sup>16</sup> A more objective Marxist has admitted that Marx "contemplated independence for Ireland regretfully."<sup>17</sup> Marx never advocated anything but "legal means" (Marx's words) for separation, and he was not such an energetic supporter of the vanguard of the Irish revolutionary movement, the Fenians, as Lenin imagined. "Bakunist, braggart, aimless propaganda through action" was Engels' judgment of Fenian tactics.<sup>18</sup> Finally, Marx advocated Irish freedom not because they had a right to secede but because he thought it would give the English working class more control in civilized England.<sup>19</sup>

It would be a mistake to claim that Bakunin was a nationalist and as such contradicted socialist internationalism.<sup>20</sup> For there is no nationalism in general, rather there is revolutionary nationalism and there is reactionary nationalism. In applauding imperialism, Marx was a reactionary nationalist, and in defending the right of every people to be free, Bakunin was a revolutionary nationalist. As the Marxist Horace B. Davis concedes: "Since the essence of communism is freedom from oppression and the ending of exploitation, Bakunin in calling for self-determination was in a way applying the principle of standing up for the underdog more consistently than Marx and Engels themselves."<sup>21</sup> That Bakunin advocated only revolutionary nationalism and not nationalism in general becomes clear when he calls for: "Recognition of the absolute right of every nation, small or large, of every people, weak or strong, and of every province, of every commune, to a complete autonomy, provided the internal constitution of any such unit is not in the nature of a menace to the autonomy and freedom of its neighbors." Furthermore, "the right of nationality can be considered only as the natural result of the supreme principle of liberty, ceasing to be a right from the moment it is posed against or even outside of liberty."<sup>22</sup> Bakunin was no patriot in that he deplored love of State; yet he was realistic enough to recognize that nationality was a fact and as such must be respected. National self-determination followed naturally. "A fatherland represents the incontestable and sacred right of every man, of every human group, association, commune, region, and nation to live, to feel, to think, to want, and to act in its own way—and this manner

of living and feeling is always the incontestable result of a long historic development."<sup>23</sup>

Davis contrasts this with the classical Marxist view: "Marx and Engels were impatient with small nations and would-be nations that stood in the way of economic progress as they saw it. Engels at one time had a brief period of belief in the rights of small nationalities, but Marx was never interested in the principle of self-determination as such, and Engels eventually favored stronger countries against weaker in a positively breathtaking manner."<sup>24</sup> It is particularly surprising as to the extent that they supported German militarism, a most rabid form of reactionary nationalism. Marx clapped when the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were wrested from Denmark and attached to Prussia in 1867.<sup>25</sup> Engels was head to shoulders above Marx in his German chauvinism. His anonymous pamphlet *Po and Rhine*, which embarrassed Lenin and which few are even aware of today (so well has it been suppressed), was so militaristic that Marx could write to Engels on May 7, 1861: "Incidentally, regarding your *Po and Rhine*, etc., I was told by Hatzfeld who meets the entire Prussian high military at the home of her brother-in-law and whose nephew, another Nostitz, is an adjutant to 'Wilhelm the handsome' that in the high and highest military circles (including the circle of Prince Karl-Friedrich) your book is considered to be the work of an anonymous Prussian General."<sup>26</sup> Engels was even more vehement than Marx in urging German wars on Russia to avenge the Fatherland. An article Engels wrote in 1891 was later used by German Social Democrats to vindicate themselves in supporting German imperialism in World War I. "If, as the Prussian government says, there'll be war in early 1892, we could *en principe* not declare against voting credits now," were his words.<sup>27</sup>

The best contrast between Bakunin's internationalism and Marx's reactionary nationalism, exhibited itself in the Franco-Prussian War, in which Marx supported the German nation. "On the German side, the war is a war of defence," he claimed in the First Address on the war issued by the International.<sup>28</sup> Rather than calling on the cannon fodder on both sides to overthrow Bismarck and Bonaparte, he cast his lot with the German imperialists because "the French need a thrashing", "the centralization of [Prussian] state power will be useful for the centralization of the German working class", and "the centre of gravity of the workers' movement in Western Europe" would be transferred from France to Germany, which would "mean the predominance of *our* theory over Proudhon's, etc."<sup>29</sup> On this nationalist basis Marx and Engels attacked Bebel and Liebknecht for refusing to vote for war credits in the Reichstag.<sup>30</sup>

Bakunin welcomed the German invasion not in hopes of a German victory but with the idea in mind of turning the imperialist war into class war in France and then Germany. "I deem the Prussian invasion a veritable piece of good fortune for France and for

world social revolution," he wrote in September 1870.<sup>31</sup> Bakunin hoped that the war would shake the foundations of the French government enough for the proletariat and peasantry to abolish it, and that the German working classes would follow their example. Unlike Marx, who harbored a patriotic bias in favor of the government which ruled the country of his birth, Bakunin had no love for any State on earth.

Bakunin and Marx were both nationalists, but of opposite types. To Bakunin's call for national self-determination, Marx and Engels responded with the sanctioning of its antithesis, imperialism, which is one form of reactionary nationalism. Another form is defence of a national state, an attitude Marx and Engels adopted in the case of Germany; to this Bakunin countered his argument in favor of what later came to be known as "revolutionary defeatism", which recognizes that wars between hodgepodge States are imperialist on both sides and that such presents an excellent opportunity to overthrow one's own State which in turn leads to the overthrow of the other State. Only Bakunin's position recognized that the workers had no country.

In *Letters to a Frenchman* Bakunin had warned, "It is clear that so long as the goal of the German workers consists in setting up a national State, no matter how free or how much of a people's State they *imagine* it to be, . . . they will ever continue to sacrifice the liberty of the people to the greatness of the State, Socialism to politics, and justice and international brotherhood to patriotism." Referring to World War I, Horace B. Davis points out: "Bakunin's prediction had come true. The German working class had not fulfilled the historic mission set for it by Marx and Engels."<sup>32</sup> Davis goes on to point out that the countries influenced by Bakunin acquired more of an anti-imperialist tradition than those where Marx's ideas were more prevalent. For instance, Andrea Costa, who was elected to the Italian Parliament as a Socialist in 1885, had belonged to the Bakunist faction of the First International. He led the anti-imperialists when Italy began its policies of colonialism in the year of his election. "The opposition in Italy to patriotism and colonialism was related to the continuing influence in the working-class movement of the ideas of Bakunin. In those areas of Spain, such as Catalonia and the Asturias, where Bakunin's ideas were likewise on the ascendant, the anarcho-syndicalist movement was [also] linked . . . with anti-colonialism."<sup>33</sup> As Davis concludes: "The followers of Marx in the European countries had been insufficiently alerted to the perils of unthinking nationalism. The followers of Bakunin, who of course were more numerous in Italy, Spain and the Latin countries generally, came off on the whole better in this respect."<sup>34</sup> For earlier Marxists, it must have been a bitter pill to swallow when they found that Bakunin had been more sensible than Marx on the national question. Today, the bitter taste is no longer necessary, for what passes for the "Marxist" position on this question had been Bakunin's all along, only hardly anyone knows it.

<sup>1</sup>Engels, "Democratic Pan Slavism", in Marx and Engels, *The Russian Menace to Europe* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952), pp. 68-9.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup>G. P. Maximoff (ed.), *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin* (N.Y.: The Free Press, 1953), p. 283.

<sup>5</sup>Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* (N.Y.: International Publishers, 1968), p. 39.

<sup>6</sup>Maximoff, pp. 286-7.

<sup>7</sup>Marx and Engels, *The Russian Menace to Europe*, pp. 83-4.

<sup>8</sup>Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, p. 688.

<sup>9</sup>Maximoff, p. 402.

<sup>10</sup>(Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1968.)

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>12</sup>Article of Aug. 8, 1853. *Ibid.*, pp. 125-31.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>14</sup>Horace B. Davis, *Nationalism and Socialism: Marxist and Labor Theories of Nationalism to 1917* (N.Y.: Monthly Review Press, 1967), pp. 70-1.

<sup>15</sup>Maximoff, p. 247.

<sup>16</sup>Lenin, "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", *Selected Works* (N.Y.: International Publishers, 1967), vol. I, p. 641.

<sup>17</sup>Davis, p. 65.

<sup>18</sup>Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels* (N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1936), p. 203.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. especially Marx to Engels, Nov. 30, 1867, *Selected Correspondence* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Pub. House, from Russian ed. of 1953), p. 236 and Marx to Meyer and Vogt, Ap. 9, 1870, *Ibid.*, p. 285.

<sup>20</sup>Those who seem to have done so include Max Nettlau, "Mikhail Bakunin: A Biographical Sketch" in Maximoff, p. 43 and E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (N.Y.: Random House, 1937), p. 164.

<sup>21</sup>Davis, p. 39.

<sup>22</sup>Maximoff, pp. 274-5.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 324.

<sup>24</sup>Davis, p. 14.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>26</sup>Quoted in George Spiro, *Marxism and the Bolshevik State* (N.Y.: Red Star Press, 1951), Vol. III, p. 618.

<sup>27</sup>Davis, p. 49.

<sup>28</sup>*Selected Works*, p. 265.

<sup>29</sup>Marx to Engels, July 20, 1870. Quoted in Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx* (London: Butler and Tanner, 1936), p. 438.

<sup>30</sup>Engels to Marx, Aug. 15, 1870. *Selected Correspondence*, p. 294.

<sup>31</sup>Maximoff, p. 399.

<sup>32</sup>Davis, p. 102.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 115 and 119.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 182-3.

THE FIRST SUCCESSES of the struggle of the International led it to free itself from the confused influences of the dominant ideology which survived in it. But the defeat and repression which it soon encountered brought to the foreground a conflict between two conceptions of the proletarian revolution. Both of these conceptions contained an *authoritarian* dimension through which the conscious self-emancipation of the working class is abandoned. In effect, the quarrel which became irreconcilable between Marxists and Bakuninists was two-edged, referring at once to power in the revolutionary society and to the organization of the present movement, and when the positions of the adversaries passed from one aspect to the other, they reversed themselves. Bakunin fought the illusion of abolishing classes by the authoritarian use of state power, foreseeing the reconstitution of a dominant bureaucratic class and the dictatorship of the most knowledgeable, or those who would be reputed to be such. Marx, who thought that a maturing process inseparable from economic contradictions, and democratic education of the workers, would reduce the role of the proletarian State to a simple phase of legitimating the new social relations imposing themselves objectively, denounced Bakunin

and his followers for the authoritarianism of a conspiratorial elite which deliberately placed itself above the International and formulated the extravagant design of imposing on society the irresponsible dictatorship of those who are most revolutionary, or those who would designate themselves to be such. Bakunin, in fact, recruited followers on the basis of such a perspective: "Invisible pilots in the centre of the popular storm, we must direct it, not with a visible power, but with the collective dictatorship of all the *allies*. A dictatorship without badge, without title, without official right, yet all the more powerful because it will have none of the appearances of power." Thus two *ideologies* of the workers' revolution opposed each other, each containing a partially true critique, but losing the unity of the thought of history, and instituting themselves into ideological *authorities*. Powerful organizations, like German Social-Democracy and the Iberian Anarchist Federation faithfully served one or the other of these ideologies; and everywhere the result was greatly different from what had been desired.

—Section 91 from *Society of the Spectacle* by Guy Debord. A Black and Red translation.

## Class Struggles in Poland

continued from page 8

but not in Gdansk!

On Sunday, December 13, an official government announcement, published in the national press, named 46 items of food and fuel which were to be increased immediately, and 40 other items—all consumer durables—which were to be reduced in price. It was also announced that the new wage structure to begin on January 1, 1971, would freeze wages for one year. Food price increases included—milk, up 8%; fish up 11%; sugar up 14.2%; flour up 16%; meat up 17.6%; jam up 36.8%, and coffee up 92%. Coke and coal prices were increased from 10 to 20% depending on the grade. On the other hand, TV sets, refrigerators, washing machines and other consumer durables were reduced between 15 and 30% in price. Two years ago, meat prices had risen between 20 and 40%, fruit and vegetables (outside the State retail system) rocketed and some imported food products, like citrus fruits, chocolate and cocoa virtually disappeared. Coffee fetched over 800 zlotys a kilo on the black market.

Reactions to the latest announcement, naturally, came swift and very forcibly. Coming as it did, just before Christmas, the government's announcement was just too much for the average Polish working-class housewife to bear. The government only had itself to blame for the subsequent explosion.

\* \* \* \* \*

### STRIKE!

It was not surprising, therefore, that things came to a head in Gdansk's Lenin shipyard on Monday morning, December 14. The management had been resisting the workers' demands that a recent wage incentive system be altered. On the previous Saturday, Stanislaw Kociolek, the region's former Party boss and now the country's Vice-Premier, made an unscheduled visit to the city. Port workers hoped that he had come to help ease the situation; but, as the press reported the next day, he had come to discuss problems connected with retail prices to be announced that night. By first thing Monday morning, Mr. Kociolek had disappeared, and was on his way back to Warsaw. The workers had had enough.

They downed tools—except for a considerable number of lengths of chain and pieces of lead piping!—and, together with their representatives or strike committee which it had now become, marched towards the Gdansk UWP headquarters. At first it was a quiet, almost sullen, column of several thousand; but it was soon joined by housewives and students, and became more volatile. They began to sing the *Internationale*. Before going to the Party headquarters, they converged on the local militia building, where the police could only hold them off by firing into the crowd. The militia was heavily outnumbered until reinforcements arrived, and was able to drive the demonstrators back. The UWP headquarters was then attacked, and the railway station set on fire. Demonstrators fought with firemen in an attempt to stop them putting the fire out. There was also considerable looting (of fur coats

according to one observer!), and a number of cars in front of the shipyards were burned. Fighting escalated quickly into major pitched battles throughout the city. The fighting between workers, housewives and students on the one hand, and the militia and, later, the army on the other, lasted over two days in Gdansk.

By Tuesday, the strike and general unrest spread to the adjoining cities of Gdynia and Sopot, which together comprise a population of over 600,000. And by Wednesday morning, the port of Szczecin, 125 miles to the west of the Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot area, was also in a state of rebellion. A dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed, and the police ordered the break-up of all public meetings, both indoors or out. On Wednesday, army tanks moved into Gdansk and took up strategic positions in the city; and a dusk-to-dawn curfew was also imposed there as well. The local radio station ordered the police to use their arms "in self-defence", because of "continued attacks on authority". Throughout the period, all communications with the rest of Poland had been cut off. An early report said that the authorities had admitted that, in Gdansk alone, six people (workers and demonstrators) had been killed—by shooting?—and that 150 militiamen had been injured. A number of government officials "had been murdered" in the city. Also on Wednesday, the government "announced to the nation" that the authorities would act with all determination against "violators of public order" and "against all anti-State activities". The government, moreover, blamed "adventurist elements" for the upheaval; in the Baltic ports, while Stanislaw Kociolek hurriedly promised the shipyard workers "substantial rises" in pay, in 1971.

It was not until Thursday, December 17, that the top government and Party leadership really began to explain—and explain away—the situation to the Polish nation. Warsaw television broadcast an order to police and troops to fire on rioters who attacked people and buildings; and continued that the government solemnly invoked the authority of the Constitution to order the use of all legal means, "including arms", against persons perpetrating violent attempts against life and limb of citizens, the pilfering and destruction of property, and of public amenities. It also called on all the people to obey all regulations issued by the State organs to ensure public order. A state of emergency had been declared.

Following the order, Mr. Cyrankiewicz, the Polish Prime Minister, spoke on TV. "Our past is full of heroism and glory," he said, "but also of disasters and ill-considered reactions. For the past two centuries, we have been going from defeat to defeat. The existence of the nation is at stake." After setting the scene, he admitted that more than a dozen people had been killed and several hundred wounded in three days of clashes in Gdansk and other parts of Poland's northern Baltic coast. Many public buildings had been burned and demolished, many shops looted and plundered, and breaches of law and order. "There were tragic clashes in which the forces maintaining order were forced to use arms," he admitted. "These are the painful results of lack of reason, and understanding, and feelings of responsibility, on the part of those who abandoned work, and went into the streets, giving a chance to adventurers and enemies; to vandalism, looting and

murder. Hostile forces are trying to create new bonfires of anarchy, to disturb the normal rhythm of work in the factories and disorganise the life of the country." The Prime Minister then mentioned the recent agreement under which the Federal German Republic recognised Poland's frontiers. "The agreement," he said, "had been received with satisfaction by the whole nation. Let this be borne in mind by the inhabitants of Gdansk, Gdynia, Szczecin and all the Polish western territories."

The same day, the Communist national newspaper, *Trybuna Ludu*, stated: "The (Gdansk) shipyard has difficult problems which could have caused friction, connected with the improvement of work organisation, the indispensable modernisation of the enterprise and the need for a considerable decrease in production costs. These problems, which require to be talked over with the participation of the personnel and be given a proper solution, have recently been the subject of discussion which continues to be necessary in the shipyard. Unfortunately, instead of examining them calmly and in a businesslike manner at meetings in the shipyard itself, part of the personnel did not resist irresponsible appeals, quitting work and going out on to the streets. In order to aggravate the atmosphere, the instigators took advantage of the change of retail prices introduced a few days ago. This change was indispensable. It lies in the interest of the economic development of the country. . . . An end must be put to anarchy. Normal life and work must be restored. Those responsible for arson and robbery must be punished." *Trybuna Ludu* then called on the shipyard workers to "return to work as soon as possible" and make up the losses caused in the last few days.

However, on the very day that the report was published in the paper, workers at the Cegielski Diesel Main Engine Works in Poznan, the automobile assembly plant at Zeran and many coalminers in Silesia went on strike. Radio Szczecin repeated several times that the port had suffered a "great disaster" and that "bandit elements" had set fire to buildings and had looted shops and other public property; but it claimed that life in the port was "almost" back to normal!

#### "DOWN WITH THE RED BOURGEOISIE!"

By Thursday, rumblings of discontent were being heard in Cracow and Wroclaw, where people had been gathering in groups in the market squares. The militia quickly sealed off the areas. Flights from Warsaw airport to Poznan and Cracow were temporarily cancelled; and no phone calls were allowed to Katowice. Radio Warsaw, however, was claiming that things were "back to normal" in Gdansk. But despite earlier reports that Szczecin was quiet, the local radio was still warning people of the dusk-to-dawn curfew. Thursday also saw the return of Mr. Kociolek to Gdansk, where he said on local television, that the workers had put forward many demands "often in ultimatum form", but added that "the majority of these demands are incapable of fulfilment".

Friday's *Glos Pracy* (the Trade Union paper) said: "The painful and tragic events of recent days are

causing depression and concern. They have become the cause of many personal human tragedies, and of great material losses affecting the whole of the population. Adventurism prevailed over prudence, indispensable in difficult situations, and trouble-makers hiding behind the shoulders of the working-class, have committed acts of violence and breaches of public order." And on the same day, *Trybuna Ludu* commented: "The events on the coast prove that abandoning work and going on the streets threatened us with incalculable results, hitting the basic interests of the State."

Saturday in Poland, unlike in Britain and most industrial countries, is as much a working day as the rest of the week. However, many workers, particularly in Szczecin, did not turn up for work. There were, according to the local radio, "interruptions of normal working in some enterprises including the shipyard". There were also demonstrations and some fighting between workers and militia in the small town of Elblag. And in Warsaw, factory managers had reported go-slows in a number of plants. Units of the ORMO had been moved into several factories, including the Fiat assembly plant, a steel mill and the printing works where the official Communist newspaper, *Trybuna Ludu*, is printed. Slogans appeared on walls of the capital proclaiming: "Down With The Red Bourgeoisie!". Radio Warsaw reported that Christmas shopping was in full swing!! In another broadcast, the commentator said that "It would be easy and convenient to use the word 'hooligan' to describe what had happened; however, the use of such a word exclusively would be too simple. The population must not allow themselves to be provoked". Foreign observers began to note at the weekend that there had been a slight softening in the original line that the riots and strikes were the work of "hooligans" and "anarchists".

There were, indeed, some signs that things generally had simmered down somewhat by the weekend. Statements by government officials and politicians had, moreover, become less inflammatory, more conciliatory. Road and rail movements to and from Gdansk had been restored, but Szczecin was still cut off from the country on Sunday. But in Poland generally, political and economic activity was now intense. For the first time for decades, the workers were openly stating their demands for higher wages and for a complete overhaul of the incentive system. *Trybuna Ludu* was now saying: "We must and we shall discuss the matters and problems—and even the conflicts—which have arisen from the fact that our economy has entered a new stage of development"; and the other Warsaw daily, *Zycie Warszawy*, said that it was a social, civic and political duty to open "a dialogue on the questions which have arisen and have now assumed such a painful character". Then a new political bomb burst!

#### ALL QUIET IN THE WESTERN PORTS

At a special meeting of the central committee of the UWP in Warsaw on Sunday, Mr. Wladyslaw Gomulka resigned as Party First Secretary, and was replaced by Mr. Edward Gierek, the former miners' leader and

Silesian district UWP secretary. Besides accepting Mr. Gomulka's resignation, the central committee relieved four other members of the 12-man political bureau of their posts. They were Marshal Marian Spychalski, Head of State; Zenon Kliszko, a leading ideologist and bureau secretary; Boleslaw Jaszczuk, the economic "genius" who had announced the introduction of the increased food prices which had sparked off the unrest; and Party organiser Ryszard Strzelecki. Mieczyslaw Moczar, former Minister of the Interior (State security police), joined the political bureau. He is, once again, responsible for security and the armed forces. Mr. Kociolek was also promoted to the bureau.

In the evening, addressing the nation on television, Mr. Gierek said that events had taken place which deeply shocked the entire community. "The coastal cities of Gdansk, Gdynia, Szczecin and Elblag became the scene of workers' demonstrations, disturbances and street clashes. People have been killed. All of us feel this tragedy," he continued. Furthermore, "The recent events reminded us in a painful manner of the fundamental truth that the Party must always maintain a close link with the working class and the nation." He said that the government must always consult the working class and intelligentsia, "to respect the principles of collective decision-making and democracy". The central committee, therefore, has committed the political bureau to examine, "within the next few days", the possibility of improving the situation of families which have the lowest earnings and a large number of children, whose budgets have been most badly affected as a result of recent price changes. "There are," he went on, "many other problems hurting the working people and requiring solutions. They include the situation of working women, the housing problem and the problems of youth." Mr. Gierek promised that the draft economic plan for 1971 and the following years would be re-examined.

Shipyard workers at Szczecin agreed to return to work on Monday morning; and about 80% of the shipyard workers of Gdansk and Gdynia were officially reported to be back at their jobs by Monday. The Soviet Communist Party leader, Leonid Brezhnev, sent a message of greetings to Mr. Gierek, describing him as "a sincere friend of the Soviet Union"—just in case anyone thought that he might not be! On Tuesday morning, the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic met and repealed the State of Emergency, withdrawing authority given in the order of the previous week for the militia, army and State security police to use guns against strikers/rioters and looters.

On the same day, moreover, the Polish press began a campaign against Mr. Gomulka. *Zycie Warszawy*, the principle Warsaw daily, said the cause of the "deep crisis" in which the country found itself was that "the dialogue between the leadership and the people has been broken off, and replaced by one-sided orders, often decided on in a very narrow circle. These decisions, even if they were right, were presented to the community in a manner which led to grave errors. . . . The Polish community has been waiting for long for the credibility gap between the nation and the Party to be overcome, for the dialogue to be re-established, and the State machinery put effectively into order so that it could serve more efficiently the nation". And,

continued the paper, "The changes made in the last few days have opened up a new chance for us. The new leadership, the country and each of us have been given this chance. But nothing can be done automatically. It is necessary to change the style of governing—in Warsaw, in the regions, in the districts and rural communities, in the Party and in the administration. We must admit it plainly: arbitrariness and autocracy were quite frequent. . . . The recent tragic events at the basis of which was discontent of the working class, came as a serious warning for the future. Far-reaching, binding and thorough conclusions should be drawn from that. The changes should be lasting, but cannot be fast. . . . Further economic changes which can bring a general improvement of the situation in the country will require much more time".

Two days before Christmas Day, on the Wednesday, a "new" government was formed. The measures were announced to a special session of the *Sejm*. Marshal Marian Spychalski was replaced as Head of State by Mr. Josef Cyrankiewicz, who resigned his post as Prime Minister and then himself became Head of State. Mr. Piotr Jaroszewicz, the former Deputy Prime Minister, became Prime Minister. Another palace "revolution"! Mr. Jaroszewicz did, however, announce: "We consider it necessary that the government pass a resolution on the matter of freezing, for a period of at least two years, all prices of foodstuffs with the exception of those articles whose prices are of a seasonal nature. As far as the prices of industrial goods are concerned they should be gradually reduced in proportion to the growth of production and further reduction of production costs." But the two-year freeze was not the concession it first appeared to be. It meant that the price increases which sparked off the unrest would remain in force. The dusk-to-dawn curfew in Szczecin was lifted.

And so Christmas came to Poland.

#### "CALM AND SOCIAL PRUDENCE"

Following Christmas, life in Poland settled down to an uneasy quiet—for a short while. But by the end of December, however, there began a considerable amount of soul-searching in the press. On the 30th of the month, the magazine *Polityka* commented that "Although there are various degrees of responsibility, the Party is responsible for the causes which gave rise to the tragic events. Elements of stagnation were growing in the economy. The picture presented by propaganda was far from reality. Such practices sanctioned the very dangerous social phenomenon of double-thinking—having one standard 'for show' and another for private use for close friends. . . ." And, continued *Polityka*, "Of course, the street demonstrations were not the correct forum to present political postulates, but we have to admit that a conscious activity by the workers did not leave wide room for manoeuvring by hostile and anti-social elements". The demonstrations, strikes and general unrest were "an alarm signal indicating that the illness still exists in the political and social organism".

On January 5, the Polish newspapers reported that the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party



would soon be meeting in order, as the Communist paper *Trybuna Ludu* put it, "... to make a detailed reevaluation of the events of December, and of the results of the last Five Year Plan". And another Communist paper, *Trybuna Mazowiecka*, said that "The lack of consultation between the working class and the Party leadership and officials was a distinct departure from the principles of Lenin concerning Party life". The newspaper admitted, moreover, that the decision to raise food prices by an average of 20%, just before Christmas, was the "drop that made the cup overflow"; it was "the detonator which caused the explosion".

But the struggles of the workers were far from over. On Monday, January 11, a group of shipyard workers in Szczecin attempted a strike. A member of the UWP politburo, Mr. Jan Szyaiak, reported the strike attempt at a plenary meeting, the same day, of the Szczecin Party organisation, according to the local Communist paper, *Glos Szczecinski*. He said that the strike attempt was made by a small group of workers on the first shift at the Adam Warski shipyard. They had, he claimed, tried to persuade other workers to down tools, but had been unsuccessful. Their lack of success showed the calm and social prudence among Polish workers, concluded Mr. Szyaiak. But things were not so calm as he thought. Other observers noted persistent tensions and general dissatisfaction among shipyard workers in Szczecin and in Gdansk. Indeed, at the same plenary meeting, the resignation of Mr. Antoni Walaszek, who had been First Secretary of the Szczecin UWP for over ten years, was accepted because of the difficulties he was experiencing in directing local Party activity!

Then, on Thursday, January 14, a number of workers at Elblag staged a number of lightning strikes and walk-outs; on Saturday, between 3,000 (the official figure) and 6,000 shipyard workers struck in Gdansk. And on Monday morning, 3,000 walked out again. They gathered for over an hour in front of the manager's office in the Lenin shipyard. Furthermore, they had drawn up a list of demands; these included a larger share of the national income, new Trade Union elections, the release of workers—said to be over 200—arrested during the December strikes and upheavals, greater freedom of the press to report grievances, and the removal from the politburo of General Moczar, the security police chief, and Mr. Stanislaw Kociolek, the former Gdansk Party leader. The workers also demanded that Mr. Gierek, who succeeded Mr. Gomulka as First Secretary, visit the shipyard. They then returned to work. After the demonstration, Mr. Stanislaw Celichowski, a local Communist official, admitted that the workers were dissatisfied with the efforts of both Mr. Kociolek and Mr. Gierek. He added that they had presented so many demands that "it would take a whole session of the government to deal with them". Mr. Celichowski, moreover, indicated that the authorities might again take strong action against the workers. "We must ask ourselves," he said, "just how long can the government go on being threatened; each day sees new demands, and when the previous leadership said that there was no more money for increasing wages, Gierek found it for the lower-paid workers, but unfortunately some people think that they can get more

by pressing harder." But in a broadcast over Gdansk radio a worker from the precision engineering works at Oliwa complained about the differentials between the ordinary workers and the bureaucrats. He said: "We have it every day, the treatment of workers, relations between men and management, the wrong distribution of bonuses, the wrong size of bonuses for workers and directors." A worker from the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk complained about the outdated machinery, some of which dated back to 1939. And not only that, he said, but machines supplied from the Soviet Union were often useless or unsuitable for the work that they were meant to do.

#### HOW MANY HEADS HAS HYDRA?

More strikes swept through Gdansk on Wednesday, January 20. Tram and bus workers walked out to attend a mass demonstration. Public transport management officials admitted that the workers had presented demands for higher wages, better working conditions and more safety measures. They chanted slogans demanding money to make up for the price increases. The meeting was, however, much calmer than a meeting between the workers' representatives and the management the previous day. Mass meetings also took place in the Gdansk shipyards to elect new workers' councils. And by Friday, all the shipyard workers at Szczecin had come out on strike again. Once again, the workers demanded higher pay and a further change in the country's government. The official Party newspaper, *Trybuna Ludu*, accused "certain people" of wanting to create "anarchy". It called for more repression against strikers and demonstrators.

Following the new unrest along the Baltic coast, Mr. Gierek visited Gdansk on Monday, "to listen to the grievances" of the shipyard workers. During his visit, Mr. Gierek met about 300 workers from Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot. Mr. Gierek had, in fact, just arrived from Szczecin where he had managed to persuade 10,000 shipyard workers there to return to work. They had been on strike since Friday. Transport workers had joined them on Saturday and Sunday. They, too, had been demanding improved wages and reorganisation of the government. On Tuesday, the Gdansk workers also returned to work. Mr. Gierek then went back to Warsaw—and appealed to Polish workers to work harder. The government disclosed that it would postpone, "for a year at least", the unpopular bonus incentive scheme which had contributed to the unrest of the last few weeks. And on January 27, the UWP committee in the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk replaced its First Secretary and six other leading bureaucrats.

It was not, however, only in Gdansk that heads were—once again—rolling within the United (!) Workers' Party. Differences among the top leaders had forced the postponement of the Central Committee meeting which should have been held at the end of January and the beginning of February. Rumour had it that there was a conflict between General Moczar and Mr. Gierek. Indeed, many workers had been calling for Moczar's resignation. They blamed him for much of the killing in December. When the plenary meeting of the Central Committee was held, the Party's economic "specialist", Boleslaw Jaszczuk, was accused of serious errors.

According to Mr. Stefan Olszowski, a politburo member, Mr. Jaszczuk tried to justify himself. At the same meeting, Mr. Gomulka was suspended from the Central Committee for what Mr. Gierek called "serious mistakes". They included, said Mr. Gierek, the weakening of the Party's links with the people, incorrect development of the country's economy and the causing of a political crisis over the increase of food prices. Mr. Zenon Kliszko, the Party's ideologist, was also removed because he had done "serious harm to the Party in directing the cadre policy, and during the December events on the coast showed lack of reality, and acted irresponsibly in contributing to the sharpening of the conflict in Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin". He was also blamed for ordering force to be used against strikers. A number of other members, including the Trade Union leader Mr. Ignacy Loga-Sowinski, asked to be allowed to step down. All in all, seven members of the committee have resigned or have been removed since Christmas. At the time of writing the committee has only ten members—and is likely to stay that way, at least until the next Party congress.

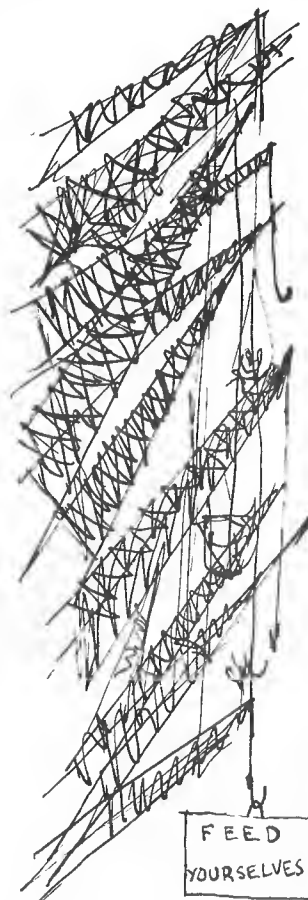
Unfortunately, "comrade" Moczar has emerged as the number two in the Communist hierarchy of Poland. He has the responsibility for the army, internal security and the Ministry of Health. After Mr. Gierek, he is the most powerful man in the Politburo. In addition, one of his henchmen, Stefan Syrowski, has control of the press, information, culture and youth. Following the meeting, Mr. Gierek promised the Polish people "a better life". He listed hard work, tighter discipline, modernised management and economy, and improved living conditions—in that order!

By the second week of February unrest moved south—to Lodz. On Friday the 12th, workers from seven textile plants struck for higher wages. Most of them, of which there were many thousands, were women. Because of the seriousness of the situation, the Prime Minister, Mr. Jaroszewicz, hurried to the city; and on Sunday he met the delegates and activists who were assembled in the Opera House. He told them that the wage increases, announced only the day before in the *Sejm*, were as far as the government could go. The Bill, which had been given a first reading, would increase wages by an average of 4.2%. "It is necessary," he continued, "for everyone to understand that a further increase of expenditure for wages and mass consumption would mean starting on the road to economic adventurism, and worsening the market's balance." An extra £6 millions would be allocated for improving the Health Service, £25 millions for Social Welfare and smaller sums for the handicapped and for extra holiday facilities. The extra income, he told the workers, would come from increased industrial production and productivity, and from higher taxes on private businesses and shops. He then returned to Warsaw. And on the following evening another—and this time much pleasanter—surprise and concession was revealed to the Polish masses.

#### ELBOW ROOM . . .

At the beginning of the evening's news bulletin on Warsaw television, Mr. Jaroszewicz came on the screen and addressed the viewers. He read a brief announce-

ment stating that the government and the politburo of the United Workers' Party had decided that, as from March 1, all food and meat prices which had been increased last December, would be repealed. This really was a concession! The cuts were possible, he said, because of credits granted by the Soviet Union a few days previously. "The direct cause of working class dissatisfaction," continued Mr. Jaroszewicz, "has now been removed, and the government will enforce this decision at improving the conditions of the working people."



However, the announcement by the politburo did also say that the cuts in food prices would be possible only if production was stepped up. "The decisions which were taken demand increased deliveries of food, the use of all reserves in agriculture, and especially the growth of livestock and the increase of exports to cover the increased imports of food," said the politburo statement. Following the television appearance by the Prime Minister, and the announcement of price cuts, the Lodz strikers held a special midnight delegate meeting, and agreed to return to work on Tuesday morning. Almost all the workers returned. During the week, many leading Communist bureaucrats either resigned their positions or were replaced. Mr. Gierk, the Party First Secretary, continued to rush about the country, addressing workers and Party officials. There were also many changes in the leadership of the Trade Unions. Radio Warsaw reported at the end of February that the Trade Union organisations were "undergoing a crisis of confidence, because the workers' protests had disclosed errors, weaknesses and failures by the Trade Unions to defend their interests." The Trade Union paper, *Glos Pracy*, said that the unrest was an expression of lack of confidence and criticism of the Trade Unions.

On March 1, the price reductions duly came into force. Besides these, the prices of consumer goods like TV sets, refrigerators and washing machines, which had in fact been lowered in December, remained the same. The economic journal, *Zycie Gospodarcze*, said that the result of the changes in real wages would be an increase of 4.5 per cent. Personal incomes would rise by 7 per cent; and in some areas the increases would be even greater. In Lodz, for example, where average pay is low because of the large numbers of women workers (no equal pay here!), the restoration

of lower food prices could raise real wages by as much as 15 per cent. The Party weekly, however, sounded a rather sour note when it wrote: "We must rouse the forces which want to rock the boat of People's Poland still further." And the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, not to be left out in the cold, forecast a gradual return to normal relations between the Church and the Communist authorities. Mr. Gierk appeared anxious for "an understanding" with the Catholic Church. Obviously, all would be for the best in the best of all possible (Polish) worlds—as long as the workers trusted their new "leaders", went to Church regularly and did not engage in subversive activities such as striking or demonstrating in the streets!

### ... BUT NOT ENOUGH

What have the Polish workers achieved during the struggles of the last few weeks of 1970 and the first two months of 1971? At considerable loss of life (officially put at 45 dead) and limb, they have won a battle, or to be more accurate a series of battles, against their State employers; they have toppled a government, but have not removed the institution of government as such (that was not their object anyway); they have humbled and discredited a once all-powerful, monolithic and monopolistic political party; they have, at least for some time to come, improved their standard of living, their real wages; and they have achieved some degree of individual and social freedom, and more room to manoeuvre and continue the struggle—if they so desire—for real emancipation from bureaucracy, exploitation and wage-slavery. But they have not, as yet, actually won the war, the war against State capitalism in Poland. As elsewhere, that is yet to come.



SZCZECIN: 18 December 1970. When the food prices were increased, the Communist Party Headquarters were raided, the windows smashed, and set on fire. Photo UPI.



PETER KROPOTKIN has real claims to be taken seriously as a social and political thinker, and there is at least more chance of this happening now than at any other time since his death exactly half a century ago. As the best-known anarchist writer, he is getting his share of attention in the current revival of interest in anarchism. It is becoming easier to read what he wrote, as distinct from what other people have written about him. Of his dozen books, most of those in English have been reprinted in the United States during the past few years, and during the next few years we may hope to see new translations of those published only in French or Russian, as well as new collections of the many shorter writings he never published in book form. Meanwhile, here are two American selections which are mainly useful because they show how the job of getting Kropotkin into print is not to be done.

*Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets* is one of a new series of reprints of anarchist titles begun by Dover Publications last year. It is a paperback facsimile of a book first published in 1927 (and already reprinted in an expensive cloth edition in 1968). Roger Baldwin, secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union for many years, was drawn towards philosophical anarchism by the influence of Kropotkin, and compiled the book as an act of homage. It gathered together thirteen of Kropotkin's shorter writings which were mostly familiar but were not otherwise available in one place, and in some cases were not otherwise available in English at all (thus it contained the first translations of his pamphlet on prisons, of part of his postscript to the posthumous Russian edition of his first book, *Paroles d'un Révolté*, and of his last fragment on the Russian Revolution).

Unfortunately many items were cut—up to half of the original text at times—often without any indication. They were jumbled up in no particular order, and linked by a sloppy commentary. Baldwin added an eccentric bibliography and an unreliable series of introductions. Then he foolishly made high claims for his work, not realising that nearly every detail he carefully mentioned revealed his ignorance of some other detail. In fact the book was a mess; and of course it still is a mess, since the method of reprinting means that it is completely unaltered. Baldwin has even managed to make things worse by contributing a new introduction which, far from correcting any of his old mistakes and misunderstandings, actually perpetrates several new ones. Yet the book will remain valuable as a miscellaneous collection of elusive material by Kropotkin until it is superseded.

*Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution* might have been expected to do just that, but it does nothing of the kind. Despite its fantastic price, it contains little more actual Kropotkin material (100,000 words, rather than 90,000), and as it happens there is no overlap at all between the two books. Martin Miller, an academic who has written a thesis on Kropotkin's formative years, has attempted a work of scholarship rather than homage, but it is not much better than Baldwin's amateurish effort. It gathers together eleven of Kropotkin's shorter writings, the most important being the first translation of his first major political work—the long memorandum he wrote for his colleagues in the Russian populist movement in 1873. The manuscript was seized by the police when his group was broken up in 1874, and it has remained in the Russian state archives ever since, being printed in 1921 and 1964. It is good to have this in English at last, but the translation (by Victor Ripp) is so literal and the comment (by Miller himself) so jejune that much of its appeal is lost.





So for three guineas you can have a score of items from Kropotkin's vast output, if you don't mind some poor editing (it should be added that both books are beautifully produced). But until a more satisfactory collection appears, to study Kropotkin properly it is still necessary to read him in the original publications—not only his books, but also and especially his many articles and pamphlets, which he himself said were 'far more expressive of my anarchist ideas' (which is why these two selections are welcome despite all their defects). Over the years I have found more than two hundred important items which have never been published in book form, and there must be as many more. What kind of figure emerges from such a study, a century after his political career began and half a century after it ended, and how does it differ from the one we are used to?

There is no need for a fundamental revision of the known facts of Kropotkin's life—which are given in his own *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (1899) and in the biography by George Woodcock

and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Anarchist Prince* (1950)—though there is room for the correction of many details. What is needed is a reinterpretation of the thrust of his work. It is easy to be led astray by mere surface factors—as Woodcock and Avakumovic were in their title, ignoring Kropotkin's repudiation of his rank from the age of eleven—and the familiar picture of the funny old man with the bald head, fan beard, and benevolent eyes peering through rimless spectacles effectively obscures the real Kropotkin.

The conventional Kropotkin is the one described in Oscar Wilde's crazy phrase about 'a man with the soul of that beautiful white Christ that seems coming out of Russia', or more soberly in Herbert Read's introduction to his anthology, *Kropotkin: Selections from his Writings* (1942): 'Kropotkin, gentle and gracious, infinitely kind and nobly wise, but not a terrifying man: he was a seer, a prophet, but above all a scholar.' In fact, if Kropotkin had anything to do with Christ, it was only in bringing not peace but a sword; and, though his private life may have been beyond reproach, as a political thinker he was indeed a rather terrifying man.

Apart from that there are two articles on the Russian revolutionary movement written for liberal periodicals in England, which are interesting but unimportant; three essays which are familiar and already accessible; and five letters, of which four—on the First World War and the Russian Revolution—are important. As an extra, there is the first translation of Bonch-Brujevic's account of the meeting he arranged between Kropotkin and Lenin in Moscow in 1919. Miller hasn't mutilated his material as Baldwin did, but his editorial apparatus is full of errors and omissions, and its professional pretensions make it more rather than less irritating. The long introduction contains nothing fresh, and the whole book adds little to our knowledge or understanding of Kropotkin. The sad thing is that Miller really knows a lot about the Russian background, and if only he had stuck to a book on Kropotkin and Russia he might have produced something worthwhile.

Kropotkin certainly saw himself as 'above all a scholar'. He first made his reputation as a brilliant young geographer, carrying out pioneering expeditions in East Asia and putting forward striking hypotheses about the orography and glaciation of the continent. He continued his original work after joining the populist movement in 1872, and even after his arrest in 1874, but not after his escape to the West in 1876. During his forty years' exile his distinctive contribution to social and political thought was the attempt to establish a scientific basis for anarchism. Apart from making a living as a scientific journalist, he produced many political books with an explicit scientific framework. *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (1899) argued that advanced agricultural techniques could rationalise and humanise the economies of industrial countries; *Mutual Aid* (1902) argued that co-operation, which was at least as important as competition in biological evolution, could assist the social evolution of mankind; the unfinished *Ethics* (1922) argued that human morality should be considered on the same biological lines; and *Modern Science and Anarchism* (1901) argued that the whole movement of nineteenth-century science was in the direction of anarchism.

By science Kropotkin meant natural science—especially biology—and not philosophy or economics. He rejected both religion and metaphysics at an early age, and followed the empiricist rather than the rationalist tradition in European thought. His writing was always descriptive rather than speculative, concrete rather than abstract. His immediate intellectual background was the Russian 'enlightenment' (*prosveshcheniye*) of the 1860s, which was firmly rooted in current scientific advances. But he often lapsed from science into scientism: the fallacy that scientific methodology can be extended into all fields of investigation without loss of precision. Similarly, when he ventured into history—notably in his pamphlet *The State: Its Historic Role* (1897) and his frequent studies of the French Revolution and the Paris Commune—he often lapsed into historicism: the analogous fallacy that historical methodology can not only trace the pattern of the past but also predict the pattern of the future. He attacked the facile positivism of Huxley and Spencer, but fell into the same trap himself, and his mechanistic arguments for anarchism have dated badly.

Such lapses derived from Kropotkin's own personality which, contrary to general opinion, was rather narrow and exclusive. Three of his closest political friends—Stepniak early in his career, and Nettlau and Malatesta after his death—pointed out that he was rigid in his views and dogmatic in his expression of them. As the leading figure in the anarchist movement, moreover, what he said was scarcely challenged until his attitude to the First World War went too far for all but his most faithful followers. This is indeed an illuminating case, since Kropotkin's support for the Allies in 1914 actually followed a strand in his thought going back over forty years—from seeing the communes of the Slav and Latin peoples as the nucleus of a libertarian order and Wilhelmine-cum-Marxist Germany as the support of the authoritarian order, to seeing a war between France and Germany as a revolutionary rather than national struggle—which most anarchists preferred to ignore until it forced itself on their attention.

This bears on Kropotkin's attitude to violence in general which, again contrary to general opinion, was one of approval. From beginning to end he insisted on the necessity for a violent insurrection to destroy the existing system. Though he opposed gratuitous assassination and indiscriminate terrorism, he favoured individual propaganda by deed, with the proviso that it must be supported by mass direct action; and he found the best hope for such action in the organised labour movement, especially the revolutionary syndicalism at the turn of the century which tried to bring insurrection through the general strike.

Thus the soft image of Kropotkin, which was projected by himself as well as by his respectable admirers, is soon dispelled by a closer look at his writings, and particularly the shorter writings in which he laid greater emphasis on such traditional anarchist topics as mutual struggle rather than mutual aid, social revolution rather than social evolution. More significant than the better-known books already mentioned are the earlier collections of agitational articles—*La Conquête du Pain* (1892), which was translated some time later as *The Conquest of Bread* (1906), and *Paroles d'un Révolté* (1885), which has still not been fully translated—and the many later uncollected articles of the same kind. It is in this frankly propagandist work that Kropotkin's most characteristic doctrines are expounded: above all those of anarchist communism as the end—that the whole of society should be organised on the basis of common ownership and popular control at grass roots—and of revolutionary expropriation as the means—that this must be accomplished by the forcible seizure by the mass of the people of all capital and property. His political doctrines may be summed up in the phrase used for the Russian edition of *La Conquête du Pain*, and also for the group formed by his Russian followers and the paper they published—a phrase still heard in the Communist world: 'Bread and Liberty'.

But if Kropotkin is to be taken seriously, his work must be made properly available. Shall we have to wait for another half-century to be able to read him in full and in context?

N.W.



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anarchism in Japan

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# anarchism in Japan

## PRE-WAR MOVEMENT

### To the Death of Kotoku

DUE TO THE FACT THAT FEUDALISM ended in Japan only 100 years ago, a working class movement did not exist until the beginning of this century, when new social theories were imported from abroad. Before the "Meiji Restoration" there had been occasional peasant revolts similar to those in feudal Europe.

The civil liberties movement in the years after the Meiji Restoration was centred around the Liberal Party. As this party was controlled by politicians who, by coming from the "wrong" feudal clans, had been frozen out of the government, its liberalism disappeared as soon as its leaders found positions in the government.

Chomin Nakae,<sup>1</sup> who studied in France, was greatly influenced by Rousseau—in 1876 he translated *Social Contract*. In his private school, Nakae taught many people who were later to become prominent Anarchists and Socialists. In 1878 two magazines with vague humanistic-socialistic philosophies began publication; they became the main source of information about radical social theories.

In 1882 the Toyo Shakai To (Oriental Socialist Party) was formed, the first group to call itself Socialist. It had no president or headquarters and declared "the government should ultimately be abolished because it is the offspring of evil". It folded a year later under government pressure.

In 1897 the first real labour unions were formed by a group led by Sen Katayama,<sup>2</sup> then a Christian-Socialist who had attended the founding conference of the Second International.

In 1900 the Diet (Parliament) passed the "Public Peace Police Act". Under the law, any policeman could prohibit a meeting, organizations could be forcibly dissolved, and organizing a strike was illegal. The next decade, when the law was stringently enforced, is referred to as "the Period of Submersion", when the labour movement was "underwater".

In 1901 a Social Democratic Party was formed; the same day it was suppressed by the government. At that time the ideologies of European radical politics were not known in Japan, and, in fact, Christianity, with its humane moral theories, had a great influence on the early workers' movement (which Christianity had been opposed to in 1873, there was still great social stigma against it, so it was not possible to sell out for Christianity).

In 1901 Kotoku wrote *Modern Anarchism*, the first book on Anarchism in Japanese. It drew prominently on Russian theories.

In 1903 Heiminsha (Common People's Association) was established to publish a weekly socialist paper. It had about 10 activists, the most prominent being Shusui Kotoku, at that time something of a Social-

Democrat. Because it was the only group to spread anti-war propaganda at a time when Japan was becoming a world power, it was eventually suppressed as unpatriotic.

In 1905 Heimin-sha split into three groups: Chokugen (Straight Talk) was led by Kotoku and Toshihiko Sakai, later to become a Socialist. The second, Shin Kigen (New Generation), led by Sanshiro Ishikawa, was influenced by Christianity and had a more humanistic outlook. The third, Hikari (Light) was simply a trade unionist group.

In 1905 Kotoku visited the US and made contact with numerous groups and individuals, particularly the IWW. He returned to Japan the next year and announced that he was an Anarchist.

Before Kotoku's return the Nihon Shakai To (Japan Socialist Party) was formed, consisting of almost all radicals. In Heimin Shimbun (Common People's Paper) Kotoku began pushing Anarchist ideas, particularly direct action and anti-parliamentarianism. Hekison Kutsumi, an intellectual, began writing about anarchism. For the first time an Anarchist movement began to develop.

The same year Japanese Anarchists in America formed the Nihon Shakai-Kakumei To (Japanese Social-Revolutionary Party), led by Sakutaro Iwasa.

As the Japanese movement became more "sophisticated" conflicts increased between the various tendencies. In 1907 the JSP split. The Left Socialists, led by Kotoku, published Osaka Heimin Shimbun, the Right Socialists, led by Sakai, published Shakai Shimbun (Social Paper), while the Christian Socialists, led by Ishikawa, formed a small centre group.

As a result of both their own weakness and government repression, the Right Socialists, while advocating parliamentarianism, were unable to participate in elections.

During the "Period of Submersion" the number of labour disputes decreased each year, while the level of violence increased. The exception to this downward trend was 1907, when the army had to be called out to suppress several miners' riots, in particular at the Ashio Copper Mine, where 1,200 miners burned buildings and threw bombs—600 were arrested.

In the first issue of *Revolution*, an English language newspaper published by Japanese Anarchists in California, Iwasa wrote, "Our politics and belief is to overthrow the Capitalist Class, Emperors, Kings, and Presidents." On the basis of this statement an American newspaper accused them of wanting to assassinate President Roosevelt. The Japanese Ambassador reported home that they wanted to kill the Imperial family; the government arrested Kotoku, but soon released him.

On November 3, 1907, the Emperor's birthday, "An Open letter to Mutsuhito, The Emperor of Japan From Anarchist Terrorists" was found on the door of the



Japanese Consulate in San Francisco. Essentially a joke, the letter attacked the Emperor for his part in the war with Russia and warned that he was surrounded by bombers. The government was terrified and immediately rounded up all known Anarchists.

On June 22, 1908, the Tokyo Anarchists went to a jail to meet a comrade who was getting out. On their way from there to a party they held a demonstration. The police, who were looking for an excuse to crack down on the Anarchists, attacked the demonstration; a battle followed, resulting in 14 arrests, including Sakae Osugi, Kanson Arahata, and Suga Kanno. Because the demonstrators carried three red flags with various phrases written on them, this demonstration became known as the Red Flag Incident.

Sakai and Yamakawa, the leaders of the Right Socialists, were arrested in connection with the Red Flag Incident, although they were in no way involved. Kotoku was not arrested as the police wanted to get him on a bigger charge—they were already certain he was planning to kill the Emperor.

Some of the people arrested in the Red Flag Incident carved on a prison wall a poem about beheading the Emperor, creating a new scandal and the extension of everybody's sentences. The whole affair proved to be a blessing in disguise for Osugi and Arahata, as they were still in jail at the time of "The Great Treason Plot" and thus could not be implicated in it.

At a demonstration against the increase in transportation costs, nine militants were arrested. They were acquitted at their trial, but the Supreme Court ordered the decision reversed.

While in prison, Suga Kanno began to think seriously about assassinating the Emperor. After her release she contacted a few others with similar interests, but none of them went beyond speculation, with the exception of Takichi Miyashita, who was captured in the mountains testing some experimental bombs.

On May 25, 1910, the police began arresting people believed involved in "The Great Treason Plot", 24 in all. On January 18, 1911, all were sentenced to death, but the next day 12 sentences were reduced to life imprisonment. On February 24, 1911, Kotoku, Kanno, Miyashita, and nine others were hung and their bodies buried.

## Shusui Kotoku

Shusui Kotoku<sup>3</sup> was born in 1871, four years after the Meiji Restoration, in an extremely conservative rural area of southern Japan. His father, a Samurai who made an unsuccessful attempt to become a merchant, died when Kotoku was two. Due to poverty and the lack of schools in his area, he was primarily self-educated.

At age 12 Kotoku began publishing a newspaper for his friends; while consisting mostly of neighbourhood news, it included some fairly radical political editorials.



At 15 he organized a small demonstration against a meeting of the ruling political party. He became a follower of the Liberal Party, which was then dropping vague hints about "taking power in one day".

In 1888 Kotoku went to Osaka, where he lived with Chomin Nakae.

In 1893 he got a job translating wire service reports from Europe, from which he learned a great deal about current events in Europe.

In 1896 Kotoku got married, apparently at the instigation of his mother. Complaining that he didn't like a traditional wife, who was more like a servant, he left her two months later. Nakae suggested he look for an educated girl and three years later he married an intellectual.

By 1897 the Liberal Party was actively collaborating with the government and becoming reactionary. Kotoku organized Shakai Mondai Kenkyu Kai (Social Problems Study Group) at his newspaper. At about the same time he received a book on Social Democracy from Europe.

Shakai Mondai Kenkyu Kai joined with Christian-Socialists like Katayama to form Shakaishugi Kenkyu Kai (Socialism Study Group) "to study the principles of Socialism and the desirability of applying them to Japan".

A man with vague leftist tendencies hired the members of Shakaishugi Kenkyu Kai to work at a new newspaper, "Banchoho", which soon became the largest newspaper in Japan. Although the paper was a low-brow scandal sheet, the editorials, mostly written by Kotoku, increasingly pushed Socialism in very scholarly language.

The railroad workers, in Japan's first big labour dispute, went on strike in 1897, but without any union organization. When the strike was lost, Kotoku was impressed with the need for unionization and joined in the formation of Rodo Kumiai Keisei Kai.

In 1901 Kotoku wrote a famous editorial under the heading "I am a Socialist and a member of the Socialist Party", his first public proclamation of the fact. At this time there was not actual SP.

Soon after, Kotoku and the leaders of five other groups met to form Shakai-Minshu To (Social-Democratic Party, modelled after the German SDP). Its basic principles were Socialism, Democracy, and Pacifism. It was suppressed within hours by the government, which had been expected, but not in time to prevent several large newspapers from publishing the party's statement of principles.

Pacifism was a particularly important issue, as Japan was entering a militaristic period that ended in the war with Russia. Shakai-Minshu To was the only group to oppose this trend and in public opinion it was considered unpatriotic; the circulation of "Banchoho" fell and Kotoku and Sakai were fired.

Kotoku and Sakai formed a group to publish

Heimin Shimbun (Common People's Paper) as a weekly outright Socialist newspaper. Kotoku wrote an open letter to the Russian SDP suggesting that they work together against the common enemy; later a reply from "Iskra" was printed. On the first anniversary of Heimin Shimbun a translation of the "Communist Manifesto" was published; that issue of the paper was confiscated, Kotoku and Sakai were arrested, and Shakaishugi Kenkyu Kai was forced to disband. In prison Kotoku translated works by Engels and Kropotkin, his first discovery of Anarchist thought.

In 1905, after deciding to leave the movement for a while because of bad health, Kotoku went to America. In San Francisco, where there was a branch of Heimin Sha, he was welcomed by the Japanese there as a well-known writer.

Kotoku joined the American SP soon after his arrival and organized an independent Japanese Socialist Party among the Japanese immigrants. He contacted the newly formed IWW, Russian exiles, Anarchists, and other radicals. For the first time he realized how deep the divisions were in the radical movement. When asked what tendency he preferred, he replied, "If I should choose one, I want the more idealistic, more revolutionary, more radical one." According to Iwasa he didn't believe that Socialism and Anarchism were contradictory, but that a Socialist society would come first, followed by an Anarchist one. He was particularly influenced by Kropotkin, whom he contacted by mail, and by the widespread voluntary co-operation he saw after the San Francisco earthquake. In June, 1906, just before returning to Japan, he formed Nihon Shakai-Kakumei To (Japan Social-Revolutionary Party), a more radical group in opposition to the SP he had formed the year before.

While Kotoku was in America the Nihon Shakai To Japan Socialist Party) was formed, led by Sakai. When Kotoku returned, he announced at a welcome-home party that his ideas had changed; he opposed parliamentary politics as useless for making a real social revolution and instead advocated solidarity of workers, direct action, and the general strike. The JSP immediately split into two groups of almost equal strength; a party principle that stated "this party advocates Socialism by legal means" was changed to "this party's purpose is to create Socialism".

Kotoku re-organized Heimin Shimbun as the organ of the JSP. Although the paper was written daily, only a few issues were allowed by the government. After a while Kotoku gave up on the paper and went to southern Japan.

When the Red Flag Incident took place, Kotoku was still in the South translating *The Conquest of Bread*. Receiving a telegram, he went back to Tokyo, stopping in several places to visit friends. The police believed he was plotting to kill the Emperor and everyone he visited on the way to Tokyo was later arrested as

part of the conspiracy (actually he had no plans for anything). Kotoku's arrival at the trial created a dramatic scene worthy of a Hollywood movie: as the news literally buzzed around the courtroom, the proceedings came to a sudden halt and Osugi proudly unfurled the red flags for Kotoku to see.

On June 1, 1910, Kotoku was arrested for plotting to assassinate the Emperor. He was still involved in getting *The Conquest of Bread* published and had no plans for other activity. On February 24, 1911, he was executed with the other 11.



## The Winter of Socialism to WW2

After Kotoku's death, the radical movement entered the "Winter of Socialism", a time when all radical activity was suppressed by the government.

In 1912 Osugi and Arahata began publishing "Kindai Shiso" (Modern Thought), which operated under the pretence of being a literary magazine. The next year the Syndicalism Kenkyu Kai (Syndicalism Study Group) was organized illegally; many of the members of this group later became union leaders. Ishikawa, finding no place for himself in the miniscule, almost exclusively syndicalist, movement, went to Europe and contacted Anarchists there.

In 1912 Yuai Kai (Friendly Love Society) was formed a totally a-political union more or less along the lines of the American AFL, its name pretty much summed up its programme.

In 1914 it was felt that the time had come to build a radical labour movement. "Kindai Shiso" ceased publication and an attempt was made to revive "Heimin Shimbun"; five of the six issues were banned and the next year "Kindai Shiso" was revived. During this period the syndicalist groups gradually grew in strength.

Despite the loss of some militants, including Arahata, proto-Communist groups after the Russian Revolution, the syndicalist movement continued to grow and gain influence in the labour movement. In 1918 Hokufu Kai (North Wind Association), a syndicalist printers' study group, led the left wing of the Japanese labour movement. "Rodo Shimbun" (Workers' Paper), written for ordinary workers, was edited by Osugi.

The Anarcho-Syndicalist movement reached its peak in 1919. That year the printers held 16 strikes in Tokyo; they were led by Shinyu Kai (Faithful Friends Society) and Seishin Kai (Society to Advance Truth), the two largest Syndicalist groups. The Syndicalist unions joined Sodomei (the new name of Yuai Kai) and their influence was rapidly sweeping through the previously moderate unions. 35,000 dockyard workers in Kobe occupied their plant for a month to prevent lay-offs.

In 1920 Japan was hit by the post-WWI depression and several large, mostly unsuccessful strikes took place to prevent wage cuts and lay-offs.

Osugi, Noe Ito (his wife, similar to Emma Goldman in both theory and position in the movement), Ken Kondo, and Kyutaro Wada began publishing "Rodo-Undo" (Workers' Movement), the first outright Anarcho-Syndicalist paper in Japan.

The first May Day demonstration was held in 1920; it went off without incident because the police didn't realize what was happening until too late. The same year the non-Syndicalist Anarchists, under the leadership of Iwasa, organized themselves into Nihon Shakaishugisha Renmei (Japan Socialist Federation).

In 1920 Osugi made what is considered to be one of his most disastrous mistakes: feeling that it was urgent to make a revolution in Japan, he attempted to form an alliance with the pro-Bolshevik groups (there wasn't a CP yet), that, while still much weaker than the Syndicalists, had the advantage of better international contacts. He attended a Far East Comintern meeting in Shanghai as the Japanese delegate, but was quickly isolated when he began to criticize the Bolsheviks. "Rodo Undo" was re-organized on a co-operative basis with the Communists; the more sectarian Anarchists left the Syndicalist movement, while the paper became extremely disorganized, with every article the subject of intense bickering between the two groups. In 1921 "Rodo Undo" was again re-organized, without the Communists.

Daijiro Furuta began organizing farmers, who were extremely poor and dissatisfied, but lacking class-consciousness and still very conservative, into Kosakunin Sha (Tenants League).

In 1922 the Japan Communist Party was officially established by the "Lecture" wing of the Socialists (the "Peasant-Worker" wing continued as the Socialist Party). The next year the police got hold of a complete membership list and the CP was wiped out. The pre-war CP never had more than 1,000 members.

The first terrorist group, Guillotine Sha, was formed. Its members included Furuta, Tetsu Nakahama, and Kozo Kawai. Aside from Nakahama, who was a sort of Japanese Nechaev, they thought of terrorism as more of a form of revolutionary justice than as a means of destroying the state.

In 1923 Japan was hit by one of the greatest earthquakes in history. The government blamed it on the Koreans, setting off a pogrom in which thousands of Koreans were killed. Taking advantage of the confusion, military police killed Osugi and Ito and threw their bodies into a well. Bokurese, a Chinese Anarchist, and Fumiko Kaneko, his Japanese wife, were arrested and later killed, as were a number of other Syndicalists.

In 1923 the government extended the vote to the working class. As a result, many unions, including some syndicalist, became involved in electoral activity.

"Rodo Undo" continued with Kondo as the editor. Shinyu Kai and Seishin Kai joined to form Tokyo Insatsuko Kumiai (Tokyo Printers Union). Guillotine Sha's first action took place, an unsuccessful attempt to rob a bank.

In 1924 there were several large (by the standards of the time) outright Syndicalist unions, the largest Nihon Insatsuko Renmei (Japan Printers' Federation) with 3,850 members, followed by Kanto Rodo Kumiai (Renmei [Kanto [the Tokyo area] Workers' Union] with 1,430 and Chugoku Rodo Kumiai Renmei [Chugoku [the Hiroshima area] Workers' Union] Federation) with 1,360. The Syndicalists had been disorganized since the death of Osugi and were growing weaker; they still had about three times the strength of the CP controlled unions.

Ishikawa organized the Japan Fabian Society.

At the end of the year Genjiro Muraki and Kyutaro Wada shot Sgt. Fukuda, the leader of the soldiers that killed Osugi and Ito. After the death of Osugi they had lost faith in Syndicalism and had turned to terrorism for revenge, without hope of changing society.

Guillotine Sha attempted to kill the brother of the man who had actually killed Osugi and Ito (the murderer himself had gone to Manchuria, where the government had given him a good job). Although

they had made some bombs, Guillotine Sha was not very successful in its terrorism. All its members were caught and 20 executed.<sup>8</sup>

After several years of internal wrangling, Sodomei expelled the revolutionary unions in 1925. Sodomei was left with 13,960 members, while the left formed Hyogi Kai with 12,655 members. From then on, both federations split in every direction. Hyogi Kai soon came under the domination of the CP and the non-Communists left; that, combined with intense government repression, quickly reduced it to only a few thousand members.

The first meeting of the CP's Peasant-Labour Party was broken up by Kokuren (Black Youth Federation), recently formed by a number of Kanto groups and unions.

The Japan Fabian Society dissolved, as it had become almost exclusively Anarchist and had little resemblance to Fabianism.

The Japan Peasants' Union, a quite moderate group organized by Christian-Socialists in 1922, grew to 67,000 members in 1926. Its first move into politics was to join with the CP in the formation of the Peasant Labour Party, a disaster that provoked a series of splits.

Nomin Jichi Kai (Peasants' Self-Control League), the most successful of the Syndicalist attempts to organize peasants, was founded in 1925. Led by Kazuo Kato, it had 243 branches and 6,300 members in 1927.

In 1926 Kokuren raided the Ginza, the high-class nightclub and shopping area of Tokyo. That same year it helped in various union struggles.

Kansai (Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto area) Anarchists formed Kuro Hata Renmei (Black Flag Federation). Young Anarchists in Chubu (near Nagoya) formed Chubu Kokuren; Kokuren groups later formed in several other areas.

The Syndicalist unions officially banded together in Jiren (National Free Federation of Workers' Unions). It included 29 unions with a total membership of 55,000.

Jiren and Kokuren conducted a large campaign in 1927 on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Part of Kokuren tried to organize peasants into Noson Undo Remei (Rural Movement Federation), without spectacular success.

In China, a National Labour University was established; Yamaga, Ishikawa, and Iwasa went as lecturers. Jiren sent a delegate to a Comintern sponsored pan-Pacific labour union meeting in China.

Jiren split between Anarchists and Syndicalists in 1928; although the Anarchist faction was by far the larger, it was becoming increasingly isolated from the actual working class struggle. The Syndicalist faction organized itself as Jikyo (Free Federation of Labour Unions Committee), while the Anarchist faction continued as Jiren.

In 1928 the complete works of Kropotkin were translated into Japanese and two years later those of Bakunin.

In 1929 the only legal Anarchist publication, Kokushoku Sensen (Black Front), posed as a literary magazine; only seven issues were allowed to appear. Ishikawa published "Dynamic" underground.

Kansai and Chugoku Kokuren re-organized as Anarchist Seinen Renmei (Anarchist Youth Federation) and published an underground theoretical journal, "Kuro Hata" (Black Flag).

In 1931 Jiren had 11,000 members and Jikyo 2,800. Nomin Jichi Bunka Renmei (Peasants' Self-Control Cultural Federation), a descendant of Nomin Jichi Kai, had 1,000 members.

In 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria. The temporary economic boom created led to increased wages and high employment; the non-political unions grew rapidly.

Jikyo led twenty strikes in 1933 and joined with Jiren and several non-Anarchist groups in the Anti-Fascist Confederation.

In 1934 Museifu-Kyosan To (Anarcho-Communist Party) was formed, led by Tei Uemura; it attempted, with little success, to organize co-operation between workers and peasants. Jikyo and Jiren re-united.

1935: CP dissolves!!! For some time it has been too weak to engage in any activity and finally decided to give up.

In 1937, as the economic effects of war began to hurt, 123,730 workers went on strike (compared to 30,900 the year before); the next year the number fell 18,300. The moderate unions tried to survive by co-operating with the military, but collapsed in 1940 when ordered to join the "Industrial Patriotic Society".

As the country moved toward outright military rule, repression became worse. After Museifu-Kyosan To robbed a bank, all 400 of its militants were arrested. The Jiren unions began to collapse.

In 1936, as the repression grew still worse, 350 Kokuren militants were arrested. A special "Public Order" Law for Anarchists was made, leading to more arrests.

Tokyo Insatsuko Kumiai joined the Popular Front. With only 250 members, it was the only Anarchist group left. In 1938 it was destroyed and, except for isolated individual activity, the Anarchist movement disappeared.

### Sakae Osugi

Sakae Osugi was born in 1885, the son of an army officer. As his family was constantly moving, he never had the sense of community that was important to other Japanese radicals. He was very shy and stammered badly—when shocked or scolded by parents or teachers he was unable to speak at all.

Osugi entered military school at 14. At 16 he was part of a large group suspended for homosexuality. Six months later he was expelled after being badly injured wrestling.

At 17 he went to Tokyo and became a Christian. In 1903, when 18, he visited Heimin-Sha, but didn't become a Socialist until he finished school two years later.

In March 1906 he was arrested for the first time, at a demonstration against raising traffic fees. In September he got married and, soon after, opened an Esperanto school.

In 1907 he was jailed for seven months for publishing Kropotkin's "Appeal to the Young". In January of the next year he went back to jail for three months for making a speech from a roof. In April 1908 he became a student in order to dodge the draft, but was arrested in June during the Red Flag Incident.

Osugi spent three years and four months in jail during a five-year period beginning in 1906. He adopted a policy of learning a new language every time he went to prison; he knew eight when he died. He also studied science and during the "Winter of Socialism" he translated a number of scientific works into Japanese.

Osugi was released from prison in November 1910. For some time it was impossible to engage in any political activity. When he began publishing "Kindai

Shiso" with Arahata he was able to gradually write more openly about social philosophy. Beginning with articles like "Instinct and Creation" and "Inclinations of Modern Science", he progressed to "Amplification of Life" and "Factory of Chains". In "Intellectual Masturbation" he denounced intellectuals, whom he disliked and avoided, for devising nice theories and disputing fine points while doing nothing.

In 1913 Osugi caught TB. In 1914 he met Noe Ito, at that time publishing Seito (Blue Stocking), a women's lib magazine, and married to a well-known follower of Stirner.

During 1915 and 1916 Osugi's love life became extremely complicated, climaxing in his being stabbed by one of his girl friends in November of 1916.<sup>9</sup> He finally settled down with Noe Ito and had five children.

After he split with the Communists and seeing their disruptive activities, Osugi realized it would be necessary to fight on two "fronts". Before, he had thought all radicals could fight together to build the new society.

In September, 1922, Osugi attended a meeting to unify two unions, one Anarchist and the other CP. At the meeting he gave a famous speech criticizing Trotsky's theories—he appears to have had a much better understanding of the differences among the Bolsheviks than any of the Marxists in Japan or Europe.

In 1922 Osugi got a letter from France announcing an international Anarchist conference. Osugi had heard about Makhno and the Kronstadt revolt and wanted to get some first-hand information, especially from Voline, and so went to France on a false passport, posing as a Chinese.

At a May Day meeting in Paris, Osugi criticized holding a peaceful indoor meeting and urged the crowd to attack some factories. A large number of police immediately raided the hall and busted Osugi before he finished his speech. He was deported back to Japan.

Two months after his return, Osugi, Noe Ito, and a six-year-old nephew were killed on September 16, 1923. Amakasu, the man who actually killed Osugi, was sentenced to 10 years in prison, but was released the next year and given a good job in Manchuria, beyond the reach of any potential assassins. The night before the funeral, the bodies were taken by rightists.

While Osugi was closer to Kropotkin in his social theories, his character and activities were more like Bakunin's. It has been said that he was not a theorist, but a man of instinct. He said that liberty is more than just life and play, free from oppression; but, if, you don't want life, you can't get liberty.

In "Creation of Life", published in "Kindai Shiso", Osugi criticized Marxism for exaggerating historical materialism and the inevitability of social evolution, a theory that leads to the suppression of spontaneity and creativity. Reformation of society is possible, but Socialism is not a predetermined fate. Socialists say that our social life creates our individual conscience, but actually it's the other way around; our own individual conscience will create the new social life. The real life of the Social Revolution starts when workers begin to think; revolutionaries should teach the workers to want to learn and help them to develop their intellectual abilities. There is a direction to the movement, but no definite end—the ideals are not future goals, but are always with the movement and progress and change with it. We are not seeking freedom and creativity for the future, but for now.



Vindicating a Vilified Revolutionary

IN THE FIRST ISSUE OF *Libertarian Analysis* (Winter 1970), Joseph R. Peden, in the essay "Courts Against the State" deals with three cases, one being the Reichstag Fire, in which he accepts the findings of the International Commission trial, held on September 20, 1933 that implicates Marinus van der Lubbe as a tool of the Nazis in setting the fire. At the same time Peden attaches a footnote to the effect that "Tobias rejects the insinuation". In the bibliography Peden lists Tobias as the author of *The Reichstag Fire* (1964).

Thanks to that footnote I was led to read the Tobias volume.

The significant impact of this volume can be gleaned from the introduction, written by Prof. A. J. P. Taylor of Magdalen College, Oxford, wherein he states, in part:

"As a scholar I am just as pleased at being proved wrong as being proved right. The essential thing is to acknowledge one's mistake. On the Reichstag fire I was as wrong as everyone else; and I am grateful to Herr Tobias for putting me right." (Prof. Taylor refers here to an article he had written on "Who burned the Reichstag?" in *History of Today*, August, 1960.)

Tobias, in his preface, relates to his own background: In 1946 he became an honorary member of the "Denazification Court", and in 1953, a member of the state civil service, thereby gaining access to whatever records there existed, from the very day of February 27, 1933, when the Reichstag was set on fire. By 1956 he had been "steadily amassing fresh evidence on the Reichstag fire", and when he agreed to the publication of some extracts from the book that he had prepared, in *Der Spiegel* (The Mirror), they were "greeted with howls of rage" (p. 17-18).

In the chapter "The Arsonist", Tobias indicates that in September 1955—twenty-two years after the Reichstag fire—Johan van der Lubbe of Amsterdam petitioned the Berlin County Court to repeal the sentence by the Supreme Court in Leipzig on his brother Marinus December 23, 1933. Three years later his petition was dismissed for purely formal reasons. . . . To this day most people believe that van der Lubbe was a congenital delinquent in the service of the Nazis. All attempts to describe the real van der Lubbe come up against two books published in 1933-1934 by Communist propagandists in Paris with the sole aim of proving that the Reichstag was burned by the Nazis. In order to make that story stick van der Lubbe had to be turned into a Nazi at all costs (p. 31).

A totally different picture of van der Lubbe unfolds itself in the police records, starting with the one of March 3, 1933, given by Inspector Heisig and Dr. Zirpius. It reads, in part:

"He is endowed with a great deal (admittedly one-sided) intelligence, and appearance to the contrary, he is a very bright fellow . . . spoke German fluently . . . and fearlessly."

In the same report, the following statement made by van der Lubbe, is given:

"At the outset I must insist that my action was inspired by political motives . . . I have always followed German politics with keen interest. . . . I was a member of the Communist Party until 1929. What I did not like about the Party is the way they lord it over the workers. . . . The masses themselves must decide what they ought to do. (These were in fact the views of the Rode or Inter-

national Communists, a tiny Dutch splinter group. . . .) In Germany a National Coalition has now been formed. . . . I decided to go to Germany and to see for myself. . . . Once here. . . . In Düsseldorf where I spoke to workers in the street. I did the same thing in other towns. . . . I found out whereas the National Coalition has complete freedom in Germany the workers have not. . . . Now, what the workers organizations are doing is not likely to rouse the workers to the struggle for freedom. That's why I discussed better ways and means with the workers. . . . I asked the workers to demonstrate. But all I was told was to take the matter to the Party—the Communist Party. But I had heard that a Communist demonstration was disbanded by the leaders on the approach of the police, and the people listened to these leaders. . . . Since the workers would do nothing I had to do something by myself. I did not wish to harm private people but something that belonged to system itself; official buildings, the welfare office . . . or the city hall . . . and further the Palace. . . . When these three fires failed to come off . . . I decided on the Reichstag as the centre of the whole system. . . . As to the question whether I acted alone, I declare emphatically that this was the case. No one had helped me." (From Prelim. Exam., Vol. 1, p. 57—Tobias pp. 34-36.)

Tobias gives interesting information about van der Lubbe's background that he gathered from various sources. Van der Lubbe was born on January 13, 1909. He was apprenticed as a builder to his brother-in-law. He became a member of the "Zaier" (Sowers) Group, a Communist Youth Organisation. In 1929 he rented an empty store-room—baptised Lenin Hall—and wrote anti-capitalist and anti-militarist tracts and leaflets. He finally broke with the Communist Party for reasons that are not clear and then joined the PIC or Party of International Communists, a group opposed to party discipline who were better known as the "Rade" or Council Communists. This group saw that spontaneous, individual action, alone would evoke the workers into a revolutionary situation.

In 1931, van der Lubbe and his Communist friend Henrik Holverda planned a trip through Europe to Russia that failed for lack of funds in Westphalia, after van der Lubbe got ten days' imprisonment for selling postcards without a licence. These postcards had an imprint which read: "Workers' Sports and Study Tour of Marinus van der Lubbe and H. Holverda through Europe and the Soviet Union. Start of the tour from Leyden, April 14th, 1931." This was a common trick at that time of raising funds whilst travelling. However the Communist Party in the "Brown Book" used this as the basis of their charge that Marinus was a "pathological liar". They also tried to brand him an homosexual in the same document. The Roodboek (the Red Book) refuted this incredible pastiche of evidence with concrete proof from people who knew him well, including a girl friend that he used to visit when he was in Austria.

On his last journey to Germany, Tobias relates:— "On 30th January, 1933, Dutch newspapers, in common with newspapers the world over, reported the Nazi victory in Germany in banner headlines. Adolf Hitler had been appointed Reich Chancellor. Subsequent issues were full of reports about Nazi outrages. Only the Communist papers consoled their readers with glib assurances that Hitlerism was nothing but the death rattle of expiring capitalism. Soon the victorious

workers would sweep away even this excrescence and under the leadership of 'the vanguard of the proletariat'—the Communist Party of Germany—begin to build a better and more equitable society. Marinus van der Lubbe, who bought all the papers that he could, had heated discussions with his friends, particularly Koos von Vink, about the revolutionary possibilities which might, indeed which were bound to, result from the inevitable clash between the bourgeois-fascist hordes and the revolutionary proletariat. He felt that something tremendous, something unique was happening in Germany and, after waiting for another few days, he set out on foot for Berlin, the great centre of political events. The date was the 3rd February, 1933" (p. 44).

On the 18th reached Berlin, hitch-hiking most of the way and stayed in a men's hostel in the Alexandrienstrasse. The following day he saw a concert organised by the Social Democrats closed down by the police without any explanation.

"It did not take Marinus long to abandon his rosy view of the situation—nowhere had he met the anticipated resolution to fight against the brown 'mercenaries of capitalism', and though he missed no opportunity of inveighing against Hitlerism, no one seemed to care. . . . He suggested spontaneous marches, of the kind that proved so successful in Holland but passers-by took no notice of him or else treated him with suspicion. . . . On Wednesday, 22nd February, at about 10 a.m., he turned up outside the Welfare Office in Neukölln, where he harangued a number of unemployed who happened to be standing about. . . . It was here, in Neukölln, that van der Lubbe first suspected the truth: among the countless unemployed and Communists he had met in Berlin, not one was prepared to make even the slightest sacrifice for the cause. If anything at all could still be done, he would have to do it himself. . . .

On a billboard he saw a placard announcing a Communist Party Meeting in the Sportpalast, and he immediately made for it, after having asked a newspaper seller the way. . . . As he intended speaking at the meeting he made a number of notes. Then he walked about the streets, and finally appeared at the Sportpalast at about 6 p.m. The main speaker was to be Communist Deputy Wilhelm Pieck.

As it happened, Marinus van der Lubbe was not given a chance to express his views—the meeting was closed by the police as soon as it was started, and with no resistance on the part of the audience. Completely disgusted, van der Lubbe returned to his hotel seething with impotent rage and unable to fall asleep for a long time. The great Communist Party of Germany had gone into voluntary liquidation. . . . It was that (following) Friday night that he finally decided to take matters into his own hands, and to begin by setting a number of public buildings on fire. Perhaps, once the intimidated masses saw these strongholds of capitalism going up in flames, they might shake off their lethargy even at this late hour" (pp. 44-46).

#### SETTING IN MOTION THE SLANDERING OF VAN DER LUBBE

Tobias sets forth a documented exposure of the despicable role that the Communist movement of the world played in unleashing the two Brown books, whose sole purpose was to brand van der Lubbe as



a tool of the Nazis in setting the Reichstag on fire. Tobias states that:

"It is mainly thanks to the recantations of ex-Communists that we know anything at all about the Communist 'Agitprop' (Agitation and Propaganda Department) in Paris. . . . Arthur Koestler in particular, has thrown much light on that charmed circle of Communist intellectuals whose central star was Willi Münzenberg. . . . He was one of the founders of the German Young Communist League. . . . On the evening of the Reichstag fire, chance threw Münzenberg near the Swiss frontier. . . . He crossed into Switzerland . . . (then) to Paris. In France, to which 25,000 of the 60,000 German refugees had fled, Münzenberg quickly established his Comintern propaganda headquarters and launched his world-wide anti-fascist campaign which as Koestler put it, was: 'a unique feat in the history of propaganda'.

"This (World Committee) with its galaxy of international celebrities became the hub of the crusade. Great care was taken that no Communist—except a few internationally known names such as Henri Barbusse and J. B. S. Haldane should be connected in public with the Committee. But the Paris secretariat which was running the Committee, was a purely Communist caucus, headed by Münzenberg and controlled by the Comintern. . . . Münzenberg himself worked in a large room within the World Committee's premises, but no outsider ever learned about this. It was as simple as that. He (Münzenberg) produced International Committees, Congresses and movements as a conjuror produces rabbits out of his hat. . . . He organized the Reichstag Counter-Trial, the public hearings in Paris and London in 1933. . . ." (Tobias, pp. 101-103, quoting Koestler: *The Invisible Writing*, p. 198, and *The God That Failed*, p. 81).

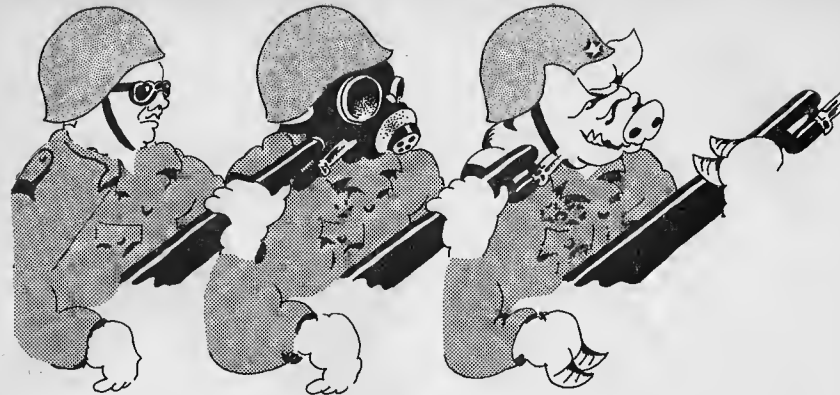
#### THE LONDON COUNTER-TRIAL

Under this heading Tobias quotes Alfred Kanterowitz's reminiscence about the preparation of the Brown Book:

"The world at large learned of the history of the fire and of the true incendiaries from the Brown Book. . . . In Paris, all this evidence was . . . carefully checked by a group of well known writers and journalists. . . . and the author of this report." (Aufbau No. 2, 1947).

Tobias then proceeds to quote Arthur Koestler as to the authenticity of Kanterowitz's claim:

"We had no direct proof, no access to witnesses, only underground communications with Germany. . . .



We had to rely on guesswork, on bluffing." (*The Invisible Writing*, p. 197.)

Tobias states that "by means of the careful sifting of witnesses, the secretariat—that is Otto Katz—made sure of one thing at least; the systematic exclusion of any real friends of van der Lubbe" (p. 126).

"The findings of the International Commission Trial made on September 20, 1933, were:

1. That van der Lubbe is not a member but an opponent of the Communist Party; that no connection whatever can be traced between the Communist Party and the burning of the Reichstag; that the accused Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev ought to be regarded . . . innocent of the crime charges. . . .
2. That the documents, the oral evidence . . . tend to establish that van der Lubbe could not have committed the fire alone.
3. That . . . grounds exist for suspecting that the Reichstag was set on fire by or on behalf of, leading personalities of the National Socialist Party" (pp. 126-127).

#### THE TRIAL IN GERMANY

Judge Paul Vogt, states Tobias:

"Asked the entire German Press to publish photographs of Marinus van der Lubbe together with a reward of 20,000 marks—a tremendous amount at that time—to anyone offering useful information. . . . Of the many who came forward, a large number were unmasked for what they were: petty crooks and informers. . . . But . . . none of them produced any further accomplices, so that Judge Vogt felt that he must hang on at any cost to the five suspects (van der Lubbe, Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev) he already had. . . . Vogt held fast to his Communist putsch theory. He accordingly dismissed van der Lubbe's protestation that he had fired the Reichstag by himself" (pp. 180-181).

Tobias quotes from the court record (pp. 186-188), the court's repeated attempt to have van der Lubbe admit that he could not have set fire to the Reichstag alone, but to no avail. This prompted Tobias into

commenting: "And van der Lubbe had spoken the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth."

Furthermore, writes Tobias, ". . . no single witness was able to establish that the Communists made any plan for an organised uprising, in which case the Reichstag fire could have been a Communist 'signal' for anything" (p. 204).

Substantiating the statement, Tobias brings this testimony given by Dimitrov in court: ". . . The Reichstag fire had nothing to do with an insurrection, a demonstration or anything of that nature. The Reichstag fire was not regarded by—I exclude criminals and the mentally deranged—as a signal for insurrection. No one observed any deed, act or attempt at insurrection in connection with the Reichstag fire" (p. 250).

Not satisfied with this cowardly admission on its own, Dimitrov demanded of the court, "That van der Lubbe be declared the misused tool of the enemies of the working classes" (p. 252). Prof. Emile Josse, lecturer on thermodynamics, answering Dimitrov—as to whether van der Lubbe could have started the fire alone—stated: "For a time I believed that he could not have done so, but, during the on-site inspection, I saw the speed with which van der Lubbe crashed through the windows and was told that he was in a lather of sweat when he was arrested, I came to the conclusion that he might have done it with adequate preparation" (p. 256).

#### CHANGED APPEARANCE OF VAN DER LUBBE

"The general appearance of van der Lubbe," states Tobias, "caused a tremendous stir among the observers." Tobias then quotes from Ferdinand Kugler's "Das Geheimnis des Reichstag Rundes" (the "Mystery of the Reichstag Fire"), in part: ". . . according to the affidavit and also the police witnesses, van der Lubbe was intelligent, mentally alert and quick to respond. But the van der Lubbe whom we were now shown was a mental wreck, completely broken and dull-witted" (p. 206).

According to the French Ambassador François-



Poncet, van der Lubbe was probably drugged. Answering this supposition, Tobias poses the logical question: "In fact, drugging van der Lubbe would have made sense had he . . . provided the Nazis with what they needed; a confession that he had acted on behalf of the German Communist Party. This he steadfastly refused to do. But if not drugged, why did van der Lubbe whom Inspector Hesig had described as being so alert after the fire, appear in court speechless, bowed, slaving, with a running nose and, in general, wretched-looking? Part of the answer was given by Kugler who wrote: 'It is quite possible that, having been kept in shackles for seven long months . . . van der Lubbe was so exhausted that he had a nervous breakdown.' Van der Lubbe, unlike the other accused, had not a single friend, and thus was a singularly defenceless butt of Judge Vogt's sadistic attacks. To make things worse; his intended protest against the enemies of the working class had helped those very enemies to power, and his former associates were now calling him a Nazi stooge" (p. 276).

#### VAN DER LUBBE'S FINAL STATEMENT

Tobias states that "much has been written by the Communist Press alleging that van der Lubbe was drugged", but on November 23, the forty-third day of the trial, van der Lubbe rose to speak, and the following exchange took place:

van der Lubbe: "We have had three trials now, the first in Leipzig, the second in Berlin and the third in Leipzig again. I should like to know when the verdict will be pronounced and executed."

President: "I can't tell you that yet. It all depends on you, on your naming your accomplices."

van der Lubbe: "But that has all been cleared up. I fired the Reichstag by myself, and there must be a verdict. This thing has gone on for eight months, and I cannot agree with this at all."

President: "Then tell us who your accomplices were."

van der Lubbe: "My fellow defendants have all admitted that they had nothing to do with the fire, were not even in the Reichstag, and did not fire it."

President: "I have told you repeatedly that the court cannot accept your statement that you were alone. You simply must tell us with whom you did it and who helped you."

And, again, later in the same day:—

van der Lubbe: "I can only repeat that I set fire to the Reichstag all by myself. . . ."

President: "Have you read the opinion of the experts who say that one man could not have started the fire?"

van der Lubbe: "Yes, I know that is the personal opinion of the experts. But then, I was there and they were not" (pp. 282-284).

What a striking comparison between the position taken in court by Marinus van der Lubbe and George Dimitrov!

The first, courageously persisting to absolve his "co-defendants" and the second referring to van der Lubbe as either one of a class of "criminals" or "mentally deranged"!!!

In the annals of mankind's struggles for social and political liberation, the name of Marinus van der Lubbe will forever be remembered as that of an uncompromising heroic revolutionist, while those of Dimitrov, Popov,

Tanov and Torgler will go down in history as one of infamy—for admitting, as Dimitrov did in court, that the Communist Party had not engaged "in an insurrection . . . strike . . . demonstration, or anything of that nature . . ."—acts that might have aroused the German people to meet the rising menace of Nazism!

Tobias concludes his narrative: "When the death sentence was pronounced on van der Lubbe, whilst all his co-defendants were freed, on December 23, 1933, the Dutch Ambassador in Berlin appealed for clemency, and countless petitions poured into Germany from all over the world (but to no avail). On January 10, 1934, van der Lubbe was led out of his cell, he looked calm and peaceful. There was not a tear, no belated confession. A few moments later Marinus van der Lubbe was dead" (p. 284).

Uncompromising fighters for freedom will be forever indebted to Fritz Tobias—for the forthright manner which for the first time, he brought forth documentary evidence that fully vindicates Marinus van der Lubbe from all the slanders hurled at him by his co-accused, all leading Communists, as well as revealing the equally despicable manner in which the Nazis attempted to force van der Lubbe to implicate the cowardly co-accused and who executed him because of his refusal to do so.

It needs to be pointed out here, aside from the splinter Communist group that rallied to the defence of Marinus van der Lubbe (the first one being the International Defence Committee of van der Lubbe, formed in Amsterdam, Holland), the official Communist press of the world re-echoed the cowardly slanderous position against van der Lubbe taken by the co-accused Communists at the trial.

The anarchist press hailed Marinus van der Lubbe as an heroic martyred revolutionist.\*

MARCUS GRAHAM

\*Man! (Oct., Nov. 1933 and Feb., Apr., Aug. 1934).



# The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State

Michael Bakunin

THIS WORK, LIKE ALL THE WRITINGS which I have published until now—so far there have been few enough—is a product of events. It is the natural continuation of my *Letters to a Frenchman* (September 1870), in which I had the easy and sad privilege of foreseeing and predicting the horrible misfortunes which are today assailing France, and along with her, the whole civilised world; misfortunes against which there has been and remains only one remedy now: *the Social Revolution*.

To prove this truth—from now on indisputable—from the historical development of society and from the very events taking place before our eyes in Europe, in such a way as to make it acceptable to all men of good will, and by all sincere seekers of the truth—and then to set forth frankly without reticence or equivocation the philosophical principles as well as the practical goals which make up, so to speak, the essence of the activist spirit, the basis and the aim of what we call the Social Revolution—such is the object of the present work.

The task which I have set for myself is not easy, I know, and I might be accused of presumption if I brought into this work the least personal conceit. But there is none of that, I can assure the reader. I am neither a scholar nor a philosopher, nor even a writer by profession. I have written very little during my life and I have never done so, as it were, except in self-defence, and only when a passionate conviction compelled me to overcome the repugnance which I feel instinctively for parading my private self in public.

Who am I then, and what is it that compels me to publish this work at the present time? I am a passionate seeker of the truth, and none the less persistent enemy to the harmful untruths which the *law and order party* (that official representative, privileged and self-seeking, of all the religious, metaphysical, political, legal, economic and social villainies, past and present) still has the arrogance to make use of today so as to brutalise and enslave the world. I am a fanatical lover of freedom, considering it as the unique environment within which the intelligence, dignity and happiness of mankind may develop and increase. I am not speaking of that freedom which is purely formal, doled out, measured, and regulated by the State, an everlasting lie which in reality never represents anything but the privilege of a few based on the enslavement of everyone else. Nor do I mean that individualistic, egotistical, malicious, and illusory freedom, extolled by

the school of J.-J. Rousseau, as by all the other schools of bourgeois liberalism, which considers the so-called rights of everyone, represented by the State as the limit of the rights of each individual, and which in fact leads of necessity and without exception to the reduction of the rights of the individual to zero. No, I mean the only freedom which is truly worthy of that name, the freedom which consists in the full development of all the material, intellectual, and moral powers which are found in the form of latent capabilities in every individual. I mean that freedom which recognises only those restrictions which are laid down for us by the laws of our own nature; so, properly speaking, there are no restrictions, since these laws are not imposed by some outside legislator situated maybe beside us or maybe above us, they are immanent in us and inherent in us and constitute the very basis of all our being, as much material as intellectual and moral. Thus, instead of trying to find a limit for them, we should consider them as the real conditions of and the real reason for our freedom.

I mean that freedom of the individual which, far from stopping as if before a boundary in face of the freedom of others, on the contrary finds in that freedom its own confirmation and extension to infinity; the unlimited freedom of each in the freedom of all, freedom in solidarity, freedom in equality; triumphant freedom, victorious over brute force and the principle of authority which was never anything but the idealised expression of brute force; freedom which, after overthrowing all the heavenly and earthly idols will establish and organise a new world, that of humanity in solidarity, built on the ruin of all Churches and all States.

I am a convinced supporter of *economic and social equality*, because I know that, outside that equality, freedom, justice, human dignity, morality, and the well-being of individuals, just as much as the prosperity of nations, will never be anything but lies. But, supporter though I may be of freedom, this first condition of humanity, I think that equality must be established in the world by the spontaneous organisation of work and of the collective ownership of producers' associations, freely organised and federated in the communes, and by the equally spontaneous federation of these communes, but not by the overriding and enslaving activity of the State.

This is the point which mainly divides the revolutionary socialists or collectivists from the authoritarian

communists who are supporters of the absolute power of the State. Their goal is the same: both one and the other faction equally desire the creation of a new social order based solely on the organisation of collective work, inevitably imposed on one and all by the very nature of things, in economic conditions which are equal for all, and upon the collective appropriation of the instruments of labour.

Only the communists imagine they will be able to attain this by the development and the organisation of the political power of the working classes, principally of the urban proletariat, with the help of bourgeois radicalism, while the revolutionary socialists, enemies of every tie and every alliance of an equivocal nature, think on the contrary that they will not be able to attain this goal except by the development and organisation, not of the political, but of the social (and, by consequence, anti-political) power of the working masses as much in the towns as in the countryside, including all the men of good will who, breaking with their past in the upper classes, might sincerely wish to join with them and wholly accept their programme.

From this two different methods are derived. The communists believe they should organise the workers' strength to take over the political power of the states. The revolutionary socialists organised with a view to the destruction, or, if one wants a more polite word, the liquidation, of the states. The communists are supporters of the principle and practice of authority; the revolutionary socialists have no faith except in freedom. Both the one and the other, equally supporters of science which is to destroy superstition and replace belief, differ in the former wishing to impose it, and the latter striving to propagate it; so that human groups, convinced of its truth, may organise and federate spontaneously, freely, from the bottom up, by their own momentum according to their real interests, but never according to any plan laid down in advance and imposed upon the ignorant masses by some superior intellects.

The revolutionary socialists think that there is much more practical and intellectual common-sense in the instinctive aspirations and in the real needs of the mass of the people than in the profound intelligence of all these doctors and teachers of mankind who, after so many fruitless attempts to make humanity happy, still aspire to add their own efforts. The revolutionary socialists think the opposite: that mankind has allowed itself to be governed long enough, too long, and that the origin of its unhappiness does not reside in this or that form of government but in the very principle and fact of government, whatever kind it may be.

Finally this is the same, already historic, contradiction which exists between the scientific communism developed by the German school and accepted in part by the American and English socialists on the one hand, and the Proudhonism widely developed and pushed right to these, its final consequences, on the other, accepted by the proletariat of the Latin countries.<sup>1</sup> Revolutionary socialism has just attempted its first demonstration, both splendid and practical, in the

<sup>1</sup>It is equally accepted and will be accepted yet more by the essentially non-political instinct of the Slav peoples. [Bakunin's Note.]

### Paris Commune.

I am a supporter of the Paris Commune which, because it was massacred and drowned in blood by the executioners of monarchic and clerical reaction, has therefore become all the more lively and powerful in the imagination and heart of the European proletariat. I am above all a supporter of it because it was a bold and outspoken negation of the State.

It is a tremendously significant historical fact that this negation of the State should have been manifested particularly in France, which has been until now the country par excellence of political centralisation, and that it should have been above all precisely Paris, the historic fountainhead of this great French civilisation, which should have taken the initiative. Paris, taking off its own crown and proclaiming its own downfall with enthusiasm so as to give freedom and life to France, to Europe, to the whole world! Paris, affirming once more its historic ability to take the lead, and showing to all the enslaved peoples (and which popular masses indeed are not slaves?) the unique way of emancipation and salvation! Paris, striking a mortal blow at the political traditions of bourgeois radicalism and providing a real basis for revolutionary socialism! Paris, earning once more the curses of all the reactionary gangs of France and Europe! Paris, being hurled in its ruins so as to pronounce a solemn contradiction to triumphant reaction; saving by its catastrophe the honour and future of France, and proving to a comforted mankind that, if life, intelligence and moral power have disappeared from the upper classes, they have remained energetic and full of potential in the proletariat! Paris, inaugurating the new era, that of the final and complete emancipation of the masses of the people and of their solidarity, henceforth a matter of fact, across and despite state frontiers. Paris, destroying patriotism and building on its ruins the religion of humanity! Paris, proclaiming itself humanist and atheist; and replacing the fictions of religion by the great realities of social life and faith in science, replacing the lies and injustices of religious, political, and legal morality by the principles of freedom, justice, equality, and fraternity, these eternal fundamentals of all human morality! Heroic Paris, rational and faithful, confirming its energetic faith in the destinies of mankind even in its glorious downfall and destruction, and leaving that faith much more energetic and lively for the generations to come! Paris, soaked in the blood of its most generous-hearted children—there indeed is mankind crucified by the international and co-ordinated reaction of all Europe, under the immediate inspiration of all the Christian churches and that high-priest of iniquity, the Pope. But the next international and solidarist revolution of the people will be the resurrection of Paris.

Such is the true meaning, and such are the immense beneficial consequences, of the two months of the existence and the fall, forever memorable, of the Paris Commune.

The Paris Commune lasted for too short a time, and it was too much hindered in its internal development by the mortal struggle which it had to maintain against the Versailles reaction, for it to have been able, I do not say even to apply, but to elaborate its socialist programme in theory. Besides, it must be recognised

that the majority of the members of the Commune were not strictly speaking socialists and that, if they appeared to be such, it was because they were irresistibly swept forward by the course of events, by the nature of their environment, and by the necessities of their position, and not by their own personal conviction. The socialists, at the head of whom our friend Varlin naturally takes his place, formed in the Commune only a very small minority indeed; they were at the very most only some fourteen or fifteen members. The remainder was composed of Jacobins. But, let it be understood, there are Jacobins and Jacobins. There are the lawyer and doctrinaire Jacobins, like M. Gambetta, whose positivist republicanism,<sup>2</sup> presumptuous, despotic, and formalistic, having repudiated the old revolutionary faith and having conserved nothing from Jacobinism except the cult of unity and authority, has surrendered popular France to the Prussians, and later to indigenous forces of reaction; and there are those Jacobins who are openly revolutionary, the heroes and last sincere representatives of the democratic faith of 1793, capable of sacrificing their well-armed unity and authority to the necessities of the Revolution, rather than how down their consciences before the insolence of reaction. These great-hearted Jacobins, at the head of whom Delescluze naturally takes his place, a great spirit and a great character, wish for the triumph of the Revolution before all things. And since there is no revolution without the popular masses, and since these masses today have pre-eminently a socialist instinct and can no longer make any other revolution but an economic and social one, the Jacobins of good faith, allowing themselves to be led on more and more by the logic of the revolutionary movement, will end by becoming socialists in spite of themselves.

This was precisely the situation of the Jacobins who took part in the Paris Commune. Delescluze and many others with him signed programmes and proclamations of which the general line and promises were definitely socialist. But since, in spite of all their good faith and good intentions, they were only socialists more through external pressure than through internal conviction, and since they did not have the time or the capacity to overcome and suppress in themselves a mass of bourgeois prejudices which were in contradiction with their more recent socialist outlook, one can understand that, paralysed by this internal conflict, they could never escape from generalities, nor take one of those decisive steps which would break for ever their solidarity and all their connections with the bourgeois world.

This was a great misfortune for the Commune and for themselves; they were paralysed by it, and they paralysed the Commune; but it is not possible to reproach them for it, as though for a fault. Men do not change from day to day, nor do they change their own natures or habits at will. These men proved their sincerity, in letting themselves be killed for the Commune. Who will dare ask more of them?

They are all the more excusable, because the people of Paris, under whose influence they thought and acted, were themselves socialist much more by instinct than

<sup>2</sup>See his letter to Littré in the *Progrès de Lyon*. [Bakunin's Note.]

by ideology or considered conviction. All their aspirations are to the highest degree and exclusively socialist; but their ideas, or rather the traditional representations of them, are still far from reaching that level. There are still many Jacobin prejudices, many dictatorial and governmental conceptions, among the proletariat of the large cities of France and even among that of Paris. The cult of authority, a fatal product of religious education, that historic source of all the evils, all the depravities and all the servility among the people, has not yet been entirely eradicated from their minds. It is equally true that even the most intelligent children of the people, the most convinced socialists, have not yet succeeded in entirely delivering themselves of it. Rummage in their conscience and you will still find there the Jacobin, the governmental, pushed back into some murky corner and, it is true, become very modest, but he is not entirely dead.

Furthermore, the situation of the small number of convinced socialists who formed part of the Commune was extremely difficult. Not feeling themselves sufficiently supported by the great mass of the Parisian population (the organisation of the International Association moreover being itself very imperfect, numbering scarcely a few thousand individuals), they had to keep up a daily struggle against the Jacobin majority. And in what circumstances indeed! They had to give bread and work to some hundreds of thousands of workers, organise them, arm them, and at the same time keep an eye on the reactionary manoeuvres going on in a huge city like Paris, under siege, threatened with starvation, and exposed to all the dirty tricks of the reactionary faction which had managed to set itself up and maintain itself at Versailles, with the permission and by the favour of the Prussians. They had to oppose a revolutionary government and army to the government and army of Versailles—that is, in order to combat monarchic and clerical reaction, they had to organise themselves in reactionary Jacobin fashion, forgetting or sacrificing what they themselves knew were the first conditions of revolutionary socialism.

Is it not natural that, in such circumstances, the Jacobins, who were the strongest because they constituted the majority in the Commune and who hesitated this possessed to an infinitely superior degree the political instinct and the tradition and practice of governmental organization, had immense advantages over the socialists? What one must surely find astounding is that they did not take more advantage than they did, that they did not give an exclusively Jacobin character to the Paris rising, and that they allowed themselves, on the contrary, to be carried on into a social revolution.

I know that many socialists, very consistent in their theoretical ideas, reproach our Paris friends for not showing themselves sufficiently socialist in their revolutionary practice, while all the loud-mouths of the bourgeois press accuse them on the contrary of having followed their socialist programme only too faithfully. Let us leave these ignominious denunciations from that section of the press on one side for the moment; I should like to make the point to the strict theoreticians of the emancipation of the proletariat that they are unjust to our Paris friends. For, between the most precise theories and putting them into practice there



is an immense distance which cannot be covered in a few days. Whoever had the good fortune to know Varlin, for instance, to name only one whose death is certain, knows how much the socialist convictions in him and his friends were passionate, considered, and profound. These were men whose ardent enthusiasm, devotion, and good faith could never have been doubted by any of those who came across them. But precisely because they were men of good faith, they were full of mistrust in themselves when faced with the immense work they had devoted their life and their thought to: they counted for so little! They had moreover that conviction that, in the Social Revolution—diametrically opposed in this as in everything else to the Political Revolution—the action of individuals counted for almost nothing and the spontaneous action of the masses should count for everything. All that individuals can do is to elaborate, clarify, and propagate the ideas that correspond to the popular feeling, and, beyond this, to contribute by their ceaseless efforts to the revolutionary organisation of the natural power of the masses, but nothing beyond that. And everything else should not and could not take place except by the action of the people themselves. Otherwise one would end with political dictatorship, that is to say, the reconstruction of the State, of the privileges, injustices and all oppressions of the State, and one would arrive by a devious but logical path at the re-establishment of the political, social, and economic slavery of the popular masses.

Varlin and all his friends, like all sincere socialists, and in general like all workers born and bred among the people, shared to the highest degree this perfectly legitimate prejudice against the continual intervention of the same individuals, against the domination exerted by superior personages; and since they were fair-minded above all things, they turned this foresight, this mistrust just as much against themselves as against all the other individuals.

Contrary to that authoritarian communist type of thinking—in my opinion completely erroneous—that a Social Revolution can be decreed and organised, whether by a dictatorship or whether by a constituent assembly resulting from some political revolution, our friends, the socialists of Paris, thought that it could not be made nor brought to its full development except by the spontaneous and continuous action of the masses, the groups and the associations of the people.

Our friends in Paris were a thousand times right. For indeed, where is that head, however brilliant it may be, or if one wishes to speak of a collective dictatorship, were it formed by many hundreds of individuals endowed with superior faculties, where are those brains powerful enough and wide ranging enough to embrace the infinite multiplicity and diversity of the real interests, aspirations, wishes, and needs whose sum total constitutes the collective will of a people, and to invent a social organisation which can satisfy everybody? This organisation will never be anything but a Procrustean bed which the more or less obvious violence of the State will be able to force unhappy society to lie down on. That is what has always happened until now, and it is precisely this old system of organisation by force that the Social Revolution must put an end to, by giving back their complete

freedom to the masses, groups, communes, associations, individuals even, and by destroying once and for all the historic cause of all the violent acts, the power, and the very existence, of the State. The State must carry away in its fall all the injustices of the juridical law with all the lies of the various religions, this law and these religions never having been anything but the enforced consecration (as much ideological as actual) of all the violence represented, guaranteed and licensed by the State.

It is clear that freedom will never be given to mankind, and that the real interests of society, of all the groups and local organisations as well as of all the individuals who make up society, will only be able to find real satisfaction when there are no more States. It is clear that all the so-called general interests of society, which the State is alleged to represent and which in reality are nothing but the constant and general negation of the positive interests of the regions, communes, associations and the largest number of individuals subjected to the State, constitute an abstraction, a fiction, a lie, and that the State is like one great slaughter-house, and like an immense graveyard where, in the shadow and under the pretext of this abstraction, there come all the real aspirations, all the living initiatives of a nation, to let themselves be generously and sanctimoniously sacrificed and buried. And since no abstraction ever exists by itself or for itself, since it has neither legs to walk on, nor arms to create with, nor stomach to digest this mass of victims which it is given to devour, it is plain that, in exactly the same way that the religious or heavenly abstraction, God, represents in reality the very positive and very real interests of a privileged caste, the clergy (its terrestrial counterpart), so the political abstraction, the State, represents the no less real and positive interests of the class which is principally if not exclusively exploiting people today and which is moreover tending to swallow up all the others, the bourgeoisie. And just as the clergy is always divided and today is tending to divide itself all the more into a very powerful and a very rich minority and a majority which is very subordinate and rather poor, so, in the same way, the bourgeoisie and its diverse social and political organisations in industry, agriculture, banking and commerce, just as in all the administrative, financial, judicial, university, police and military functions of the State, is tending to weld itself further each day into a truly dominant oligarchy and a countless mass of creatures who are more or less vainglorious and more or less fallen, living in a perpetual illusion and pushed back inevitably more and more into the proletariat by an irresistible force, that of present-day economic development, and reduced to serving as blind instruments of this all-powerful oligarchy.

The abolition of the Church and of the State must be the first and indispensable condition of the real emancipation of society; after which (and only after which) it can, and must, organise itself in a different fashion, but not from top to bottom and according to an ideal plan, dreamt up by a few wise men or scholars, or even by force of decrees put out by some dictatorial force or even by a national assembly, elected by universal suffrage. Such a system, as I have already said, would lead inevitably to the creation of a new

State, and consequently to the formation of a governmental aristocracy, that is, an entire class of people, having nothing in common with the mass of the people. Certainly, that class would begin again to exploit the people and subject them under the pretext of the common good or in order to save the State.

The future social organisation must be made solely from the bottom upwards, by the free association or federation of workers, firstly in their unions, then in the communes, regions, nations and finally in a great federation, international and universal. Then alone will be realised the true and life-giving order of freedom and the common good, that order which, far from denying, on the contrary affirms and brings into harmony the interests of individuals and of society.

It is said that the harmony and universal solidarity of the interests of individuals and of society will never be capable of realisation in practice because society's interests, being contradictory, are not in a position to balance one another by themselves or even to come to some sort of understanding. To such an objection I will reply that, if up to the present day the interests have never anywhere been in mutual harmony, that was because of the State, which has sacrificed the interests of the majority to the profit of a privileged minority. That is why that notorious incompatibility and that struggle of personal interests with those of society is nothing less than a political deception and lie, born out of the theological lie which imagined the doctrine of original sin so as to dishonour man and destroy in him the sense of his own worth. This same false idea of the conflict of interests was also sown by the dreams of metaphysics which, as is known, is a close relative of theology. Not appreciating the sociability of human nature, metaphysics regards society as a mechanical aggregate of individuals, of a purely artificial kind, suddenly brought together in the name of some contract, either formal or secret, freely entered into or else under the influence of a higher power. Before uniting themselves in society, these individuals, endowed with a kind of immortal soul, enjoyed complete freedom.

But if the metaphysicians assert that men, above all those who believe in the immortality of the soul, are free beings outside society, we arrive inevitably then at this conclusion: that men cannot unite in society except on condition that they repudiate their freedom, their natural independence, and sacrifice their interests, first personal and then local. Such a renunciation and such a sacrifice of oneself must be, on that argument, all the more pressing as society becomes more numerous and its organisation more complex. In such a case the State is the expression of all the individual sacrifices. Existing under such an abstract form, and at the same time such a violent one, it continues, as goes without saying, to obstruct individual freedom more and more in the name of that lie which is known as the "public good", although it evidently only represents exclusively the interest of the ruling class. The State, in this way, appears to us as an inevitable negation and an annihilation of all freedom, all interest, individual as well as general.

We see here that in the metaphysical and theological systems everything is linked and explained self-consistently. This is why the logical defenders of these

systems can and indeed must, with an easy conscience, continue to exploit the popular masses by means of Church and State. Cramming their pockets and slaking all their foul desires, they can at the same time console themselves with the thought that they are taking all this trouble to the glory of God, for the victory of civilisation and for the eternal happiness of the proletariat. But we others, not believing either in God or in the immortality of the soul, nor in the individual freedom of the will, we assert that freedom must be understood in its completest and widest sense as the goal of the historic progress of mankind. By a strange, though logical, contrast, our idealist opponents of theology and metaphysics take the principle of freedom as the foundation and basis of their theories so as to conclude quite simply with the indispensability of the enslavement of men. We others, materialist in theory, we tend in practice to create and to make durable a rational and noble idealism. Our enemies, religious and transcendental idealists, come down to a practical, bloody, and vile materialism in the name of the same logic, according to which each development is the negation of the basic principle. We are convinced that all the richness of the intellectual, moral and material development of man, just like his apparent independence—that all this is the product of life in society. Outside society, man would not only not be free, but he would not be transformed into a real man at all, that is to say, into a being who has self-consciousness, who alone thinks and speaks. The combination of intelligence and collective work has alone been able to force man to leave the state of savagery and brutality which constituted his original nature or indeed his starting point for further development. We are profoundly convinced of this truth that the whole life of men—interests, trends, needs, illusions, stupidities even, just as much as the acts of violence, the injustices, and all the actions which have the appearance of being voluntary—represent only the consequence of the inevitable forces of life in society. People cannot admit the idea of interdependence, yet they cannot repudiate the reciprocal influence and the correlation between phenomena in the external world.

In nature itself, that marvellous interrelationship and network of phenomena is certainly not attained without struggle. Quite the contrary, the harmony of the forces of nature only appears as the actual result of that continual struggle which is the very condition of life and movement. In nature and also in society, order without struggle is death. If order is natural and possible in the universe, it is so solely because this universe is not governed according to some system imagined in advance and imposed by a supreme will. The theological hypothesis of a divine system of laws leads to an evident absurdity and to the negation not only of all order, but of nature itself. Natural laws are not real except in so far as they are inherent in nature, that is to say they are not fixed by any authority. These laws are only simple manifestations or else continual fluctuations of the development of things and of combinations of these very varied, transient, but real facts. Together this all constitutes what we call "nature". Human intelligence and its capability for science observed these facts, controlled

them experimentally, then re-united them in a system and called them laws. But nature itself knows no laws. It acts unconsciously, representing in itself the infinite variety of phenomena, appearing and repeating themselves in an inevitable way. That is why, thanks to this inevitability of action, universal order can and indeed does exist.

Such an order also appears in human society which apparently evolves in a supposedly non-natural manner, but actually submits to the natural and inevitable course of events. Only, the superiority of man over the other animals and the faculty of thinking brought to his development an individual characteristic—which is quite natural, let it be said in passing—in the sense that, like everything that exists, man represents the material product of the union and action of forces. This individual characteristic is the capacity for reasoning, or indeed that faculty for generalisation and abstraction, thanks to which man can project himself through thought, examining and observing himself like an alien and external object. Raising himself above his own level through the medium of ideas, just as he raises himself from the surrounding world, he arrives at the representation of perfect abstraction, absolute nothingness. And that absolute is nothing less than the faculty of abstraction, which scorns everything that exists and, arriving at complete negation, there comes to rest. It is already the final limit of the highest abstraction of thought: that absolute nothingness is God.

That is the meaning and the historic basis of every theological doctrine. Not understanding the nature and the material causes of their own thoughts, not taking account of the conditions even or of the natural laws which are peculiar to them, these first men and societies certainly could not suspect that their absolute notions were only the result of the faculty of conceiving abstract ideas. That is why they considered these ideas taken from nature as if they were real objects, before which nature itself would cease to have any reality. They took it into their heads afterwards to worship their own fictions, their impossible notions of the absolute, and to grant them all kinds of honour. But they had the need, in some fashion, to represent and make tangible the abstract idea of nothingness or of God. To this end, they inflated the concept of divinity and endowed it into the bargain with all the qualities and powers, good and evil, which they only came across in nature and in society.

Such was the origin and historic development of all religions, beginning with fetishism and ending with Christianity.

We hardly have the intention of plunging into the history of religious, theological and metaphysical absurdities and still less of speaking of the successive unfolding of all the incarnations and divine visions created by centuries of barbarism. Everybody knows that superstition always gives birth to frightful sufferings and causes the flow of streams of blood and tears. Let us say only that all these sickening aberrations of poor mankind were historical events, inevitable in the normal growth and evolution of social organisms. Such aberrations engendered in society the fatal idea, dominating the imagination of men, that the universe were supposedly governed by a supernatural force and

will. Centuries succeeded centuries, and societies became accustomed to this idea to such an extent that they finally destroyed within themselves every tendency towards a further progress, and every capacity they had to reach it.

First the ambition of a few individuals, then a few social classes, erected slavery and conquest into a vital principle, and implanted more than any other this terrible idea of the divinity. Since when all society was impossible without those two institutions as a base, the Church and the State. These two social scourges are defended by all the dogmatists.

Scarcely had these institutions appeared in the world than all of a sudden two castes were organised: that of the priests and the aristocracy, who without losing any time did the job of inculcating deeply into that enslaved people the indispensability, usefulness and sanctity of the Church and the State.

All that had as its goal the changing of brutal slavery into legal slavery, provided for and consecrated by the will of the Supreme Being.

But did the priests and the aristocrats really believe sincerely in these institutions, which they sustained with all strength in their own particular interest? Were they not merely liars and deceivers? No, I believe that they were at the same time both believers and imposters.

They believed too, because they took a natural and inevitable part in the aberrations of the mass, and only later, in the age of the decadence of the ancient world, did they become sceptics and shameless deceivers. Another reason allows us to consider the founders of States as sincere people. Man always believes easily in whatever he desires, and in what does not contradict his interests. Even if he is intelligent and informed, the same thing happens: through self-love and his desire to live with his neighbours and profit by their respect, he will always believe in whatever is pleasant and useful. I am convinced that, for example, Thiers and the Versailles government were forced at great cost to convince themselves that, in killing several thousand men, women, and children in Paris, they were saving France.

But if the priests, augurers, aristocrats and middle-class citizens, of ancient and modern times, were able sincerely to believe, they nevertheless remained imposters. One cannot in fact admit that they believed in every absurdity that constituted faith and politics. I am not even speaking of the age when, according to the words of Cicero, "two augurers could not look each other in the eye without laughing". Afterwards, even in the time of general ignorance and superstition, it is difficult to suppose that the inventors of daily miracles were convinced of the reality of these miracles. One can say the same thing of politics, which may be summed up in the following rule: "It is necessary to subjugate and exploit the people in such a way that they will not complain too greatly of their fate, nor forget to submit, nor have time to think of resistance and rebellion."

How then, after this, can we imagine that people who turned politics into a profession and knew its aim—that is to say injustice, violence, lies, and murder, in the mass or in isolation—might believe sincerely in the political art and the wisdom of the State as the

creator of social contentment? They cannot have arrived at such a degree of stupidity despite all their cruelty. Church and State have been the great schools of vice in every age. History bears witness to their crimes; at all places and at all times the priest and the statesman have been the conscious, systematic, implacable and bloody executioners of the people.

But how, all the same, can we reconcile two things which are apparently so incompatible: deceivers and deceived, liars and believers? Logically, this seems difficult; however, in fact—that is to say in practical life—these qualities occur together very often.

In the great majority of cases people live in contradiction with themselves, and under perpetual misapprehensions; they generally do not notice it, that is until some extraordinary event brings them back from their habitual sleep and compels them to take a look at themselves and around themselves.

In politics as in religion, men are only machines in the hands of the exploiters. But robbers and robbed, oppressors and oppressed, all live one alongside the other, governed by a handful of individuals whom it is convenient to consider as the true exploiters. These are the same people, free of all prejudices, political and religious, who consciously maltreat and oppress. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, until the explosion of the Great Revolution, as in our own day, they ruled in Europe and did pretty well as they pleased. We must believe that their domination will not prolong itself much further.

While the principal leaders deceive and lead the

## A biographical and bibliographical note

THE best-known single writing on the Paris Commune is of course *The Civil War in France*, the address which Karl Marx wrote for the General Council of the International Working Men's Association during April and May 1871 (while the Commune was still in existence), and which was approved by the General Council on May 30 (two days after the Commune was destroyed) and first published as a pamphlet in June 1871—since when it has appeared in innumerable editions.<sup>1</sup> Bakunin's essay on the Paris Commune, which was written during June 1871, is much less well known and has been used by very few writers on either Bakunin or the Commune.<sup>2</sup>

Bakunin's essay is inevitably compared with Marx's address, though they are very different kinds of work, just as Bakunin and Marx were very different kinds of person. The difference between the attitudes and activities of the two great rivals in the First International during the crisis of 1870-1871 is indeed both interesting and revealing. Whereas Marx both publicly and privately opposed any socialist rising first against the Second Empire of Napoleon III and then against the Third Republic which replaced it after the defeat of the Franco-Prussian War in September

1870—going so far as to describe any such rising as "desperate folly", to call on the French workers to "do their duty as citizens", and to reject the current ideas about setting up a Commune as "stupidities"—Bakunin strongly favoured a socialist rising against either the Empire or the Republic, based on the proclamation of independent communes, the raising of a militia to fight a guerrilla war against both the Prussian army and the French state, and the establishment of the direct rule of the mass of the people.

It is of course true that Marx rallied to the Paris Commune after it rose, and wrote his brave and brilliant defence of it after it fell; but it is also true that this admirable stand represented a considerable shift in his position and indeed led to a substantial change in the theory of revolution which he and Engels had been developing for twenty-five years, ever since the *Communist Manifesto*—a change which they themselves recognised when they brought out a new edition of the *Manifesto* the following year,<sup>3</sup> and which Bakunin pointed out at the same time.<sup>4</sup>

By contrast, Bakunin's support of the Paris Commune grew naturally out of his attitude throughout the crisis, and indeed during the whole

people astray quite consciously, their servants, or the minions of the Church and State, apply themselves with zeal to uphold the sanctity and integrity of these odious institutions. If the Church, according to the pronouncements of the priests and of the majority of statesmen, is necessary for the salvation of the soul, the State in its turn is also necessary for the conservation of peace, of order, and of justice, and the dogmatists of all the schools must shout: "Without Church and Government there will be neither civilisation nor progress."

We need not discuss the problem of eternal salvation because we do not believe in the immortality of the soul. We are convinced that the most harmful of things for humanity, for truth and progress, is the Church. And how could it be otherwise? It is not to the Church that the care of perverting the younger generations, above all the women, falls? Is it not the Church which through its dogmas and lies, its stupidity and shame, tends to destroy logical reasoning and science? Does the Church not attack the dignity of man, in perverting in him the notion of rights and justice? Does it not give back as a corpse that which is living, does it not lose freedom, is it not the Church which preaches slavery of the masses in perpetuity for the benefit of tyrants and exploiters? Is it not the Church, this implacable Church, which tends to perpetuate the reign of darkness, ignorance, poverty and crime?

And if the progress of our century is not a deceptive dream, it must get rid of the Church.

of his career over the same period of twenty-five years. Jean Maitron, the historian of the French anarchist movement, has summed up the difference between these two attitudes by saying that Bakunin "judged with his heart, Marx with his head".<sup>5</sup> But the truth is surely the exact opposite of this. Arthur Lehning, the editor of the Bakunin Archives, speaking recently at a Colloquium on "The Paris Commune and Its Place in Social Thought", argued that Bakunin's view of the Commune was part of the line he was advocating consistently throughout 1870-1871, and that this line was in fact intellectually and emotionally correct—whereas it was Marx, hostile to the Commune until it actually appeared, who was convinced by his heart and then used his head to justify his change of feeling.<sup>6</sup>

Bakunin indeed did more than merely advocate a rising in France—he took part in one. In 1870 he was living at Locarno in Italian Switzerland, but he was in close touch with his friends in France, especially in the south, and when the Empire fell at the beginning of September he quickly moved there. He left Locarno on September 9 and arrived in Lyon on September 15, playing a leading part in the socialist attempt to over-

throw the bourgeois regime which had been set up there on September 4. The socialists formed a Committee for the Safety of France, which drew up a proclamation abolishing the state on September 24, issued it on September 25, and actually managed to seize power for a day on September 28; but the governmental forces quickly drove them out and restored "order" before they could set up a revolutionary commune. Bakunin was arrested but soon released, and managed to escape to Marseille and then a month later to Genoa and so back to Locarno.<sup>8</sup> (A week after he left Marseille, the rising of October 31 established a revolutionary commune there for a few days; it is important to realise that the Paris Commune of March-May 1871 was the culmination of a movement lasting for a long time and spreading over a wide area—and after the establishment of the Paris Commune there were further risings in many places in France, including both Lyon and Marseille.)

This tragicomic experience dashed Bakunin's hopes about the revolutionary prospects in France, and he lost the optimism expressed in his *Letters to a Frenchman on the Present Crisis*, written during August and September 1870 and published in September 1870.<sup>9</sup> But his enthusiasm naturally returned with the appearance of the Paris Commune in March 1871. The Jura Federation of the International, which included his closest political allies, sent a messenger to Paris at the beginning of the rising, but they—like everyone else outside the besieged city—were only able to watch events from outside. Bakunin—like Marx—quickly realised the significance of what was happening there, and—like Marx again—he had some associates among the leaders of the Commune: Varlin, Malon, the Reclus brothers, and so on. In April he moved to Sonvilier in the Jura to be closer to France and among his friends. During the first half of May, while the Commune still survived, he delivered three speeches to the St. Imier workers who belonged to the central section of the Courtelary district of the Jura Federation, in which he first made public his general deductions from the Paris Commune.<sup>10</sup>

After the fall of the Commune he returned to Locarno, and there, from June 5 to June 23, he wrote the unfinished essay which is known as "The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State", and which is his main statement about the implications of the Commune. In July and August, after Mazzini's violent attacks on the Commune and the International in Italy, Bakunin wrote vigorous replies which had a remarkable effect, beginning the destruction of Mazzini's long-standing

influence in the Italian revolutionary movement and the establishment of Bakunin's influence in its place.<sup>11</sup>

Bakunin's essay on the Commune, which was found among his papers after his death, was called by him "Préambule pour la seconde livraison de *L'Empire Knouto-Germanique*"; thus it was designed to open the second part of his great attack on the Russian and German regimes, the first part of which was written at the end of 1870 and published in May 1871.<sup>12</sup> But the second part of the book, like most of his works, survived only in fragmentary form; another section of it which has frequently appeared separately is the unfinished essay well known as "God and the State", which was written at the beginning of 1871 and first published in 1882.<sup>13</sup>

The first part of the Commune essay was first published (in the original French) by Elisée Reclus in the last issue of *Le Travailleur* (Vol. 2, No. 4, April/May 1878), the "revolutionary socialist"—i.e. Bakuninist—paper produced by French and

Russian exiles in Geneva from May 1877 to April 1878. Reclus gave it the title "La Commune de Paris et la notion de l'état", which it has retained ever since. The whole essay was first published by Bernard Lazare in *Entretiens politiques et littéraires* (Vol. 5, No. 29, 1892), and it appeared as a separate pamphlet with a preface by Peter Kropotkin in 1899.<sup>14</sup> It was included in the collection of Bakunin's works published in France,<sup>15</sup> and also in those later published in Russia, Germany, and Argentina. It has recently been reprinted in Daniel Guérin's anarchist anthology, *Ni dieu ni maître* (1965; 1969; paperback edition 1970).

The essay has never been published in a full English translation until the present edition, which is part of a project organised by the Centre International de Recherches sur l'Anarchisme, involving a new edition of the essay published simultaneously in Switzerland, Belgium, and France.<sup>16</sup> The essay has been translated by Geoff Charlton, and edited by Nicolas Walter.

their own. This was a truly clownish travesty . . . etc."

<sup>8</sup>Jean Maitron: *Histoire du mouvement anarchiste en France, 1880-1914* (1951; 1955).

<sup>9</sup>The Colloquium was held at the University of Sussex on March 26-28, 1971, and the proceedings are to be published in book form later this year.

<sup>10</sup>Bakunin's activity in Lyon and Marseille is described in Max Nettlau: *Michael Bakunin* Vol. 3, Part 1 (1899) and James Guillaume: *L'Internationale* Vol. 2 (1907); the version given by E. H. Carr is a caricature.

<sup>11</sup>*Lettre à un Français sur la crise actuelle* (Geneva, 1871).

<sup>12</sup>"Trois conférences aux ouvriers du Val de Saint-Imier", first published by Max Nettlau in *La Société Nouvelle* in March and April 1895, and included in *Oeuvres* Vol. 3 (1908); relevant extracts appear in the new CIRA edition of *La Commune de Paris et la notion de l'état*.

<sup>13</sup>Bakunin's writings against Mazzini are included in *Oeuvres* Vol. 6 (1913), and have recently been collected by Arthur Lehuin in *Archives Bakounine* Vol. 1, Parts 1 and 2, "Michel Bakounine et l'Italie" (1961-1963).

<sup>14</sup>*L'Empire Knouto-Germanique et la révolution sociale* Première Livraison (Geneva, 1871).

<sup>15</sup>*Dieu et l'état* (Geneva, 1882); the most useful English-language edition is that published by Dover Publications with an introduction by Paul Avrich—*God and the State* (New York, 1970).

<sup>16</sup>*La Commune de Paris et la notion de l'état* (Paris, 1899).

<sup>17</sup>*Oeuvres* Vol. 4, pp. 245-275 (Paris, 1910).

<sup>18</sup>*La Commune de Paris et la notion de l'état, suivi de Trois conférences aux ouvriers du Val de Saint-Imier* (Lausanne, Paris and Brussels, 1971).

## REVIEW The Withered Flowers of May

TOWARDS A HISTORY AND CRITIQUE OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN RECENT TIMES, by Colin Williams, R. Atkins and Keith Nathan (Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists pamphlet No. 1, York 1970. 5p + 2p postage).

ONE THING THAT HAS BEEN LACKING in the British anarchist movement in the last few years is a basic history, critique and analysis; not, I would hasten to say, a history of the movement from its formation, but a history of the movement as we know it today. This is what the above writers have set themselves out to do. It is on whether they have achieved this, or not, that we must set our criticism.

I must admit that on first and second reading I did not like this pamphlet. It is dogmatic, dictatorial and verbose. Jargon abounds and their conclusions do not follow from their evidence. To put it bluntly their evidence seems to follow more from hearsay, often from parallel movements, or from published material rather than from the facts as I know them. In fact they appear to have been very selective in their facts, as though it were more important to prove a case, than be historically accurate.

Therefore, in judging this pamphlet, we must pause for a moment and wonder whether the title is meaningful. Titles, I know, often have very little to do with what follows them. A title is designed to catch the eye and inform. It is also designed to sell a work, though one must not suggest that the authors are trying to make a profit. A title also might be part of that sage educationalist's advice to new teachers: "Tell 'em what you are going to tell 'em, tell 'em, and tell 'em what you told them." I do not know whether any of the writers are going to be teachers but if they are I suggest that the beginning and end of this suggestion are not its only parts, merely the icing on the gingerbread. You have got to "tell 'em" too. And this is something which this pamphlet lamentably fails to do.

Therefore I tactfully suggest that, whilst this may be a critique of the anarchist movement, some of its history is a little too much like hearsay. Furthermore some of its suggestions for the future seem to be a little too much like Marxist-Leninism for my taste.

The pamphlet was I suppose written by students. To say this is not to denigrate students. Some of the most active anarchists have been, and no doubt are, students. But looking at it in retrospect I see a striking resemblance to publications like "ANARCHIST YOUTH", published in 1964 and their "federation" of which least said the better, except to wonder whether there is an ideal type of students' actions in regard to which all students approximate in an institutional way, because personalities and issues apart, the resemblance between ORA, the people involved and their manner, is strikingly similar to so many others. Perhaps if they had delved a little deeper into the last ten years of anarchism their conclusions would have been less dogmatic, and I personally think, less unreal.

I think, you know, all students suffer from the same fatality. They think that as the university is a seat of learning, somehow they are learned. Because their professors pontificate so can they. They also feel that if they, in their studies, are obliged to understand the scientific method then ipso facto, they are scientific in approach and value-free in their judgments and their apparent dogmatism is merely another's failure to correctly interpret the real truth.

This is rather a pity but it seems to be the result of too much theory and too little practical experience. Mere contact with the ivory tower does not lead to a scientific approach, least of all in politics. Scientific method implies the development of objectivity—being able to stand outside oneself and look at oneself and one's actions, and the action of others; in effect, the phenomena under consideration; from a value-free perspective.

This pamphlet is not objective. It is not value-free. Furthermore the conclusions have little to do with what precedes them.

The writers claim that no serious work on anarchist theory has been published in recent times. They justify this by dismissing all the writing that appears as "spurious advanced positions". They thereby imply that they can quite safely ignore anything that disagrees with their conclusions. This is an intellectually dishonest approach. It may be the practice in some Marxist tendencies but hardly what we expect from self-confessed anarchists.

Having, they claim, cleared the field, they then advance their own particular viewpoint and attempt to justify this as general anarchist theory. Marxist-Leninism is advanced, called anarchism, and we are given a long-winded account of dialectical materialism, historical necessity and other collectivist nonsense ending up with the minority syndicalist view that only through the efforts of the working class will an anarchist revolution, and we are led to suppose anarchist society, be achieved. Again, the icing on the cake, but no cake. No evidence is given as to how their conclusions were arrived at. All this is left to the reader's imagination, or knowledge of basic Marxism.

The writers go on, at great lengths, about Anarchist Group organisation—a worthwhile task which needs more study. However they look at groups from only one perspective—whether they are effective as industrial activists. This is a very naive approach and shows that they have had little contact with anarchist groups (outside Protest Politics) up and down the country, furthermore they have little knowledge of who, and why, people become anarchists. They also seem to have little knowledge of what makes the average industrial worker tick.

They soliloquise, at length, about the successes of Left Wing groups and wish the anarchist movement was as highly organised as International Socialism or the Socialist Labour League and claim that if anarchists adopted their methods, and apparent aims, the anarchist movement would be larger and more effective.

Too true, but would the movement's supporters be anarchists? In a sense this may not concern them—they might even say that this was irrelevant; quite, but are we talking about the anarchist movement as yet another Left popular front?

I feel that the writers of this pamphlet have been blinded by the delusion of numbers. They feel dismayed by the militancy of certain Left-Wing groups, at least in its verbal form. They are also surprised at the published sales figures of some Left papers, forgetting these were sent out on account. What anarchist has not occasionally bought a pint for the lonely working class girl sellers of "KEEP LEFT" who, desperately scared that they will be landed with copies to pay for out of pocket money they have not got, wander the late night pubs desperately trying to peddle their unwanted rubbish—is this the kind of movement anarchists want?

The facade of Left-Wing militancy has been accepted for real, as was intended, and in being blinded Messrs. Williams, Atkins and Nathan have insisted we follow the Left because it appears to be ritually effective. Really what has this got to do with anarchism? I would rather there were only ten anarchists in Britain who were anarchists, than ten million followers of red and black flags.

Anarchism is not merely a social, nor industrial, phenomena. Anarchism is an awareness of a psychological reality. One does not achieve an anarchist society by merely changing the power relationships, be they in the State, central or local, or the industrial bureaucracy, nation-wide or shop-floor.

One has only to come in contact with many so-called Spanish anarchists throughout Western Europe to realise that whatever industrial or political attitudes they may pay lip-service to, in their personal relationships, i.e. treatment of women; wives and daughters and general home-life, they might well be living in middle class Victorian England. Anarchism is their party-line and the syndicalist union their party. Anarchism has no psychological reality for them and furthermore it has little effect on their personal relationships.

There are large syndicalist unions in Argentina and Sweden but does this lead to anarchism as we know it? The evidence is that the individual is as rigid in his private views as any so-called bourgeois society—as rigid as many English industrial workers too.

How many industrial militants do you know? Do you know their wives and children? Have you ever met them? What do these do while their husband and father props up the bar? Have the wives been freed from the drudge of the kitchen sink, looking after children, cooking, doing the laundry, housework? Do my readers really think that a mere change in the relationship of the factory-workers' control and anarcho-syndicalism will bring about an anarchist society? One can criticise this pamphlet on many grounds though upon this point they seem to be with the Gods, but just because they realise that freeing the women is important this does not mean that altering the relations in the work place will alter that of the home. It is here that the lack of balance between evidence and conclusions become most apparent.

Why should anarchist revolutionaries and anarchist

groups only concentrate on the industrial worker merely because the Left does so? Why should they concentrate on the economic relationships of one person at all? Should they not be concentrating on the environment, on abolishing work, on re-introducing meaning into life? It is not for nothing that the greatest creation of industrialisation is the privatised worker, who seeks his life's meaning in pursuits outside work, in the home. Is not the industrial activist not also a privatised worker yet one who has failed to develop his individuality and see the expression of its meaning within the home and family?

Anarchism is a total philosophy. It is centred on the individual, not on the group. It is individual-based not collective-based. Anarchist relationships are formed between people to satisfy their individual needs. From relationships of self-freed individuals we develop social relationships that do not suffocate but are pleasing and honest. Collectivism follows from individual needs. The collective is not prior to the individual. Furthermore anarchism has nothing to do with wife-slave ownership.

Industrial processes change rapidly. We are now entering, perhaps have entered, a post-industrialised society. Though culture is affected by economic change it is more affected by belief systems. In order to achieve an anarchist society we must first achieve anarchists, who will then, themselves, change economic structures, as they need to. We cannot change the economic relationships first and hope that this will change people. This is a rock upon which many revolutionaries have foundered.

The pamphlet criticises the anarchist movement for failing to follow the Left up the blind alley of industrial action and suggests ways it could do so—even to broadening the scope of the AFB or in reality narrowing it to this approach, a curiously authoritarian viewpoint. In this, the authors show a complete lack of understanding of what anarchism and the anarchist movement is all about. They do indicate however a deep need for some organisational experience—perhaps a couple of years in the Socialist Labour League would be a good cure, though what they will probably do is end up in Solidarity, that wastepaper basket of undisciplined leftists who need an organisation but who are too undisciplined to accept its authority and rules.

This pamphlet does not live up to its title and is more than factional in approach. This is a pity because there is a lot of quite good stuff in it, if it had been spelled out at length and not used as Testament of Holy-Writ, might have been useful as a discussion paper, section by section, over a weekend. Factional viewpoints are sometimes useful in that they serve as a background for purposes of discussion, but when they are propounded as a general theory must be rejected as "spurious" and dishonest.

Meanwhile I would be interested in reading a pamphlet or book on a history and critique of the anarchist movement which was just that and not an attempt to plug a certain line, particularly a non-anarchist line. We have had the Black Flag's "Floodgates" and now ORA's, who's next for the chopping block? Unless somebody does a good job soon I shall have to do it myself.

PETER NEVILLE

## REVIEW

# Bound for the Bookshelves?

**ANARCHISM**, edited by Robert Hoffman (New York: Atherton Press, 1970).

"ANARCHISM" HAS BECOME A HOT WORD OF LATE and publishers are beginning to cash in. Due to a variety of reasons—student rebellion, radical life styles, bomb threats, simple nostalgia—terms like "anarchist", "anarchism" and "anarchy" have become part of the pop idiom. Not unlike women's liberation, the titles on "anarchism" are bound for the bookshelves.

This somewhat nasty preface serves to introduce a collection of anarchists, their friends and their enemies, recently issued in the Atherton "Controversy" series, a set of publications designed to present "conflicting views of key controversial subjects". Hoffman's volume, which includes snippets from such respectable and respected anarchist theoreticians as Proudhon, Tolstoy, Goldman and Berkman, virtually ignores all the controversy which forms so substantial a part of anarchist history. Proudhon, an obvious favourite of the editor, gets over twenty pages in this slim (159-page) book. But the meat of his often dynamic and turbulent career is ignored. There is nothing about the early attack on Proudhon by Marx, nor is there anything but a sketchy mention of the highlights of Proudhon's interesting life. Aside from reprinting Proudhon's now amusing calumny against the effects of government, there is little of substance. We can be charmed by hearing that

To be GOVERNED is to be . . . marked down, recorded, inventoried, priced, stamped, measured, numbered, assessed, licensed, authorized, sanctioned, endorsed, reprimanded, obstructed, reformed, rebuked, chastized . . .

but anarchism, unlike publishing, is not a game. As a matter of principle it is ill-advised for a critic

to carp about an editor's selections; these are rightly personal preferences. But a volume demands a thesis. Since we do not get the promised "controversy" we have to look for something else.

Three pages of Alexander Berkman stressing that anarchism is not bomb throwing, or robbery, or murder, is crude and misleading. Berkman, in the same work that Hoffman quotes, draws a poignant, precise and lively description of the anarchist programme; some of this ought to have been included. One cannot fault the inclusion of Emma Goldman's essay "Anarchism", but since her "Anarchism and Other Essays" has recently been reprinted one need not turn to Hoffman as a source.

Here and there are included some useful selections. David Thoreau Wieck's essay (from *Resistance*) is modern, clear, imaginative and generally unavailable. It deserves circulation. But a few graceful or even inspiring phrases cannot suffice for a serious anthology, nor can they compensate for what might be a devastatingly interesting book describing and reprinting the many disputes associated with the anarchist movement. I, for one, would delight in seeing the Marx/Bakunin struggle in print. Or the Johann Most/Benjamin Tucker debate. As much as we may abhor factionalism, struggle within and without is the stuff of anarchist history.

To end on a more positive note, Hoffman's introduction, while somewhat vague and ahistorical, is full of sympathy for the anarchist movement. He forcefully attacks the myth that anarchism is synonymous with terrorism and assassination. And he makes clear that the increase of liberty is a central anarchist aim. But his errors of omission and commission in this volume leave the reader disappointed and bewildered.

TERRY M. PERLIN.

**LIBERTARIAN ANALYSIS** is a quarterly journal, 64 pages, printed format 8" x 5"

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The first issue, Winter 1970, carried the following articles: "On the New Class" by Paul Avrich, "Paths of Revolution" by M. Serguen, "Individualist Anarchism in the United States: The Origins" by Murray N. Rothbard, "Tasks for the New Left" by Noam Chomsky, "Courts Against the State" by Joseph R. Peden, "The Road to Freedom: Anarchism in the 1920s" by Huhle and "A Communication to Libertarians" by Karl Hess.

In a forthright editorial the journal outlines its aims, stating, in part:

All anarchists share the same underlying values and attitudes that makes them comrades in a common cause. . . . Individualistic values and communist aspirations are not necessarily contradictory forms of anarchism. . . . **LIBERTARIAN ANALYSIS** hopes to explore the various approaches and strategies of anarchism—their differences, strength and similarities—and develop these forms in ways that are relevant to current struggle. . . . And we hope that readers will take part in these endeavors through the pages of **LIBERTARIAN ANALYSIS** with suggestions, criticism, and articles.





## Anarchism in Japan

### POST-WAR MOVEMENT

#### Labour Movement

Right after the war, the US Occupation specifically encouraged unionism as a means of breaking up the power of the giant corporations. Within a year almost 4,000,000 workers had joined unions. But when the workers began to run wild and engage in such irresponsible activity as taking control of plants to increase production at a time when management wanted to hold it down to benefit from inflation, the Occupation began to turn against the unions.

Before the Cold War began, the Occupation looked on the Communists as allies and allowed them to gain a dominant position in the labour movement (the CP, on its part, considered the US military an "Army of Liberation"). It has been said that General MacArthur is the founder of the Japanese CP. The CP's labour federation, with 1,500,000 members or 25% of total union membership, reached its peak in 1947; after MacArthur banned a planned General Strike it fell rapidly to 400,000 by 1949 and was later ordered to dissolve. When the Cold War got going, the Occupation tried to import McCarthyism and 12,000 Communists lost their jobs.

To oppose CP influence in the labour movement, the Occupation organized anti-CP unions into Sohyo, with a total membership of 2,760,000. Unfortunately for the military, the Sohyo unions had no intention

of serving anybody's imperialism and quickly allied themselves with the Socialist Party; they jointly adopted the "Four Peace Principles", including absolute neutrality, no military bases in Japan, and no re-armament.

The CP had been doing fairly well as a defender of Democracy when it got the word in 1951 to re-enact the Chinese Revolution; the resulting farce would make a suitable plot for a Keystone Cops movie and virtually destroyed the CP. After about a year it gave up and as soon as it was safe (1955) announced that a Proletarian revolution was impossible until the Bourgeoisie went through the formality of overthrowing the Emperor. Since then the CP has been slowly regaining the ground it lost.

The only really notable post-war industrial dispute took place in 1960 at the Miike mines in Kyushu when the mine bosses announced that 6,000 men would have to "volunteer to retire". A series of strikes led to a lockout, which led to several large battles with company guards and aspiring strike-breakers. One man was killed and 1,750 injured during the lockout-strike, which lasted 282 days and ended in defeat.

In 1965 the SP and Sohyo organized Hansen Seinen-i (Anti-War Youth Committee). It quickly moved away from the SP and by 1967 was participating in demonstrations with the Anti-Communist Zengakuren. Nationally, it is controlled by the Zengakuren sects, but very many non-sect radicals and Anarchists are active in local branches. During the 1969 and 1970 anti-Treaty struggle it was very active; small groups

would barricade themselves in at strategic points in their plants and disrupt production. At its height it could draw about 13,000 workers to demonstrations, but, as a result of its preoccupation with political matters it became isolated from the ordinary workers and is now small and inactive.

Hourly wages rose from an average of US \$0.244 in 1955 to \$0.583 in 1966, which can be compared to

	US	UK	Italy
1955	\$1.86	men 4.74 Shillings	L185
		women 2.78	
1966	\$2.72	men 9.23	L401
		women 5.30	

When comparing these figures it should be borne in mind that Tokyo is rated the most expensive city in the world to live in. Unemployment usually runs at about 1%; in fact the workers in highest demand are recent Junior High School graduates, with seven jobs available for each graduate, for the simple reason that they are the lowest paid.

With the amazing increase in Japan's post-war GNP, the workers' Standard of Poverty has increased from the starvation level to near that of European workers. As long as the bosses can afford to pass out 5% and 10% annual wage increases and still increase profits, the labour movement is going to be emasculated.

There are now 11,481,000 union members, 35% of the work force, organized in 60,754 unions. As the table shows, the vast majority of union members, even when government workers are not counted, are employed by large businesses, while the number employed by the smallest businesses has actually declined by about 190,000 since 1960. The working class is sharply split between the "regular employees" with their fabled job security and fringe benefits and those in small companies who lack even many basic legal rights.

Partly as a result of the spontaneous generation of the post-war unions, more than 95% are limited to one enterprise. With the system of lifetime employment, many workers are reluctant to use tactics or push for demands that could weaken their employer's economic position. While there are a few signs that this system may be weakening, there is nothing unusual about a large corporation limiting itself to hiring exclusively recent graduates. Sohyo has managed to reduce the problem slightly by co-ordinating the wage drives.

Japanese workers tend to have slightly more say in union affairs than those in the West. While policies and programmes originate at the top, the first drafts are sent down the hierarchy for criticism and may be modified somewhat before they become official.

Most union officials are on temporary leave from their companies and return to them after their term of office is up; professional union leaders are usually workers who lost their jobs for union activity. Unfortunately, there is a strong tendency to elect officers from among the "white-collar" workers, the lower levels of which are included in the union, but are on a career escalator that will carry them into management. The unions like the arrangement because they think it gives them friends inside the management, while the bosses, aside from the obvious reasons, like the experience it gives in administration. In the West this system would inevitably produce company unions, but Japanese union leaders (with the exception of those in Domei) tend to be fairly conscientious; Sohyo's leaders are often fairly radical, but are held back by the apathy of the membership.

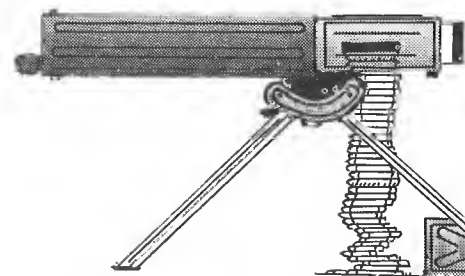
Strikes are used for harassment and to get publicity, not to seriously interfere with production. The most common form of job action is the "scheduled strike", announced at the beginning of negotiations. For example, a railroad union might schedule a three-hour strike to begin at 4 A.M., followed later by a Sunday strike, and then by one during a rush hour. In theory, it could build up to an unlimited strike, something which actually happens every five or ten years. The wage settlements are actually based on the recommendations of a government mediation board. In spite of this, the rate of "days lost" per 1,000 workers is not all that small compared to Western countries, because contracts are renewed annually and, except for Domei, are not usually signed until everybody has gone out on a ceremonial strike or two.

Almost half of Sohyo's 4,282,000 members, who make up 37% of organized labour, are government workers or workers in government-owned corporations without the right to strike. These workers manage to get around the law through slowdowns and reporting sick.

Sohyo leads the annual Spring Struggle, which a minor federation and a number of independent unions join in. By co-ordinating the wage drives, it partially reduces the enterprise unions' timidity and fear of hurting their employers' ability to compete. Wage increases generally average out to 10% a year, a good part of which is lost to inflation.

Sohyo is closely allied to the SP and is virtually its only source of support. Sohyo's national leadership, which is the right wing of the unions, supports the left wing of the SP; the membership is basically apathetic. If the SP splits, Sohyo will probably split also, but it is impossible to tell which faction would be larger. The CP, which has no federation of its own, controls two of the larger Sohyo unions and has some influence in several others.

Domei, with 2,060,000 members or 17.7% of total union membership, is the second largest federation. It was formed in 1964 when the revival of the pre-war Sodomei joined with a group that split off from Sohyo. While Domei unions, like Sohyo, prepare an annual list of strike dates, they have the amazing ability to reach an agreement before the first date arrives. Domei is strongest in industries that are rapidly increasing productivity, where the bosses are willing to hand out 10% and 15% annual increases in a time of



EVERY LITTLE BIT HELPS.



prosperity to help undermine the labour movement. Domei bases its requests on "management's ability to pay", but should be credited with at least making its own investigations to determine this figure. Although Domei has taken some steps to keep out the most blatant company unions, it is still common for Domei organizers to show up when some kind of real struggle is taking place to denounce Sohyo and form a second union; the bosses respond with favouritism toward the members of the second union. Domei is closely tied to the Democratic Socialist Party.

### Parliamentary Politics

The Liberal-Democrats (47% of the vote and 303 seats in the Diet in the last election) have an absolute stranglehold on the Diet. Controlled by big business, they draw most of their support from rural areas. The product of the union of two parties, they are extremely factionalized. By playing off the factions against each other, Sato was recently re-elected party President (and thus Prime Minister) despite the fact that almost 80% of the people wanted somebody new.

The Japan Socialist Party (21.5%, 91 seats) increased its vote at the rate of about 1% a year during the '50's and early '60's, but has now been losing strength for several years. Their greatest weakness is an inability to form strong local organizations, which forces them to rely on Sohyo to organize things for them. Although they stick to a traditional Marxist interpretation of politics, most of their support comes from "white-collar" workers. They are in the process of splitting between those who hold to an at least theoretical and rhetorical commitment to Marxism and revolution and the outright reformists—the reformists probably have a more practical position, considering the realities of their situation. The right wing, the smaller, will probably break away after the next election and form a new party with the Democratic-Socialists and possibly Komeito.

Komeito (Clean Government Party) (10.9%, 47 seats) is a front for the Sokka Gokkai Buddhist sect. It claims to be left wing but its policies are so vague that no one is really sure.

The Democratic-Socialists (7.7%, 32 seats) broke off from the SP several years ago and is now close to the Liberal-Democrats. It would be unable to survive without the support of Domei.

The Japan Communist Party (5.3%, 14 seats) has gradually increased its voting strength, mostly at the expense of the SP. While waiting for the Bourgeois Revolution, they have built a strong reformist organization; so strongly reformist, in fact, that would probably find it impossible to change their position, should they ever wish to.

While Japan has what appears to be a form of parliamentary democracy, it is not really democratic at all. By the use of massive donations from big business and occasional vote stealing, the Liberal-Democrats have remained in power for over twenty years. The right-wing Socialists hope to be able to unify the opposition, but are not too likely to succeed. None of the political parties seem to have a real commitment to Democracy—the Liberal-Democrats look on the opposition as a meddlesome nuisance, while the opposition complains about the "tyranny of the majority". Interestingly, the Socialists have occasionally started brawls on the floor of the Diet to prevent a vote from

being taken, which usually results in their being dragged out by the riot police.

In recent local elections the SP and CP have together won several fairly important positions by putting up joint candidates. In these elections the SP has provided the votes, while the CP has gotten them to the polls. There is now widespread speculation that the CP will become the major opposition party, but it's too early to distinguish a real trend.

### Zengakuren

Zengakuren is basically divided into Minsei (CP controlled) and a large number of "Anti-Communist" or "New Left" sects of varying degrees of authoritarianism. The name is usually used in reference to the Anti-Communists.

Minsei has about 12,000 active members and is the strongest student political organization. Aside from being generally obnoxious, it is known to occasionally try to drive student strikers off campuses when the police have proved too lily-livered to do so.

Zengakuren began splitting about ten years ago. It is virtually impossible to keep track of the Anti-Communists' splits and temporary alliances (a chronological chart looks like a diagram of the insides of a radio), but their basic divisions are Trotskyist (about 8,000 activists), Maoists (1,000), Rosa Luxembourists (1,500), and "Italian" reform Communists (3,000). Each sect has a non-student "Party" that it belongs to, but only about half of these parties really exist. Aside from the usual Bourgeois enemies, they particularly hate (1) Minsei and (2) each other; many groups attack each other on sight.<sup>10</sup>

The inter-sect hatred is quite understandable when one realizes that these groups are essentially Stalinists without a Stalin. Their political theories are very highly developed and leave little room for uncertainties; internal disputes are usually resolved by splitting.

While the sects generally agree on the need to join with the workers, their numbers seem to have a tendency to think of themselves as the main force of the revolution. This may be at least partly caused by the almost total indifference of most people toward leftist activity.<sup>11</sup>

In October of 1967 most of the sects adopted what were basically Provo tactics of attacking the police and forcing the state to respond with outright repression. Instead, the government reacted for the most part with extreme tolerance, putting the police in armour and usually limiting them to defensive action. The street-fighting campaign reached its peak in November of '69 and has since dropped off sharply. It appears that the sects have realized that throwing a Molotov cocktail at a cop doesn't convince anyone that he's a bastard and are now looking for new tactics.

On the whole the courts have been quite easy on student rioters. At a recent trial, two defendants who were unquestionably "guilty" of organizing a massive riot in which one person was killed were given 1 and 1½ years in jail, while the other 24 defendants got suspended sentences. As the level of violence increased, the government began moving toward a crackdown, but things quieted down before they reached that point.

The riot to prevent Sato's trip to Washington in November of '69 had about 20,000 participants, mobilized from all parts of Japan. The Tokyo demonstra-

tion of Anti-Communist sects and non-sect radicals against the extension of the Security Treaty with the US in June of '70, at which violence was only a formality (each group fought the police a few minutes and then sat back to watch the others) attracted about 150,000 people. These are the largest demonstrations of their kinds ever held by the sects.

### Non-Sect Radicals

Until about 1967 non-sect radicals were few in number and little more than potential recruits for Zengakuren. The growth of student discontent led to struggles for university reform; as the sects, with their preoccupation with national and international politics, were unable to relate to these struggles, the non-sect radicals took the initiative. Non-sect radicals began to organize themselves under the name Zenkyoto (All Campus Joint Struggle Committees); previously lacking in any programmes for action, it looked like they might develop something with Zenkyoto, but the movement collapsed at the end of 1969, partly because lengthy strikes had done little to improve the university situation and partly because a new law gave the government more control over the universities. The situation had become confused in the summer of '69 when several of the sects, with their acute political vision, perceived that the masses wanted Zenkyoto and so joined together and declared themselves National Zenkyoto.

As non-sect radicals are, needless to say, a totally amorphous group, it is difficult to be very exact about them. Unlike radicals in a similar position in the US (and probably Britain), who are generally ignorant of social theories and think all revolutionaries are the same, Japanese non-sect radicals tend to be fairly knowledgeable about left-wing theories, but have a basic aversion to the dogmatism of most groups.

As their numbers fluctuate wildly depending on the issue at hand, it is impossible to estimate how many of them there are.

### Beheiren

Beheiren (Citizens Alliance for "Peace in Vietnam") was formed in 1965 at a meeting called by a group of writers to protest the Vietnam war. While it has a National Chairman, there is no real structure; you become a member by declaring yourself one and branches are formed in the same way.

Unlike most organizations, Beheiren has become increasingly radical as it has grown. Although it lacks an official political theory, it has broadened its field of activity and become involved with the problems of Japan itself; it is probably the major non-parliamentary left-wing "citizens group". Makoto Oda, the Chairman, believes in a "whirlpool of humanity" theory; the whirlpool consists of radicals whose activity draws in the citizens on surrounding them, eventually leading up to a general strike or similar mass action.

Beheiren has two tendencies: The major one, which is the real Beheiren, is quite libertarian. The second is made up of people from the CP and Zengakuren sects who have come in to capture the organization; they have found that aside from the Chairmanship, which is more or less Oda's personal property, there aren't any positions of power for them to capture. As the activists of the real Beheiren, unlike most non-sect radicals, have developed their own programmes, the

opportunists are isolated and end up as nothing more than their original groups using the name of Beheiren.

Beheiren can usually draw 2,000-5,000 people to a demonstration in Tokyo and occasionally as many as 10,000.

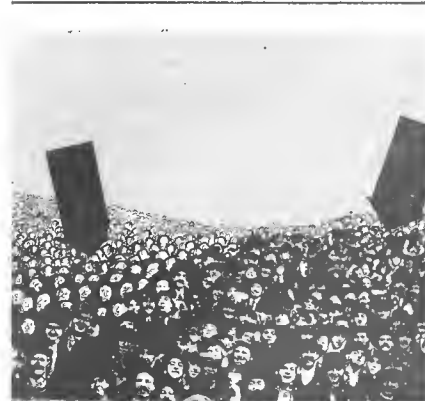
### Post-War Anarchist Movement

On May 12, 1946, about 300 people met in Tokyo to form Nihon Anarkisuto Renmei (Japan Anarchist Federation), with Iwasa as Chairman and Kenji Kondo as Secretary. They began publishing "Heimin Shim-bun" weekly.

The federation was unable to attract more than 600 people. This can be attributed to two basic causes: (1) With the social and political environment totally changed overnight, the Anarchists, with the exception of a few attempts by Syndicalists to establish workers' control of production, were unable to come up with practical proposals for action. (2) When Japanese society was reconstructed, there was a place in the plan for Socialists and Communists, while the Anarchists, even if they had been willing to accept the US Army as a patron, were, of course, ignored as anachronistic lunatics.

A dispute among the Tokyo Anarchists, caused by the bad housing situation, led to a split in 1951. The smaller group, the so-called "pure Anarchists" formed the Japan Anarchist Club, led by Iwasa. The Anarchist Club was opposed to all unions; Iwasa looked on unions as bandit groups, only stealing money from the Capitalists—fair enough as far as they go, but not really revolutionary.

In 1956 "Heimin Shim-bun" changed its name to "Kuro Hata" and in 1962, now a monthly, to "Jiyu Rengo" ("Free Federation").



You are both charged with conspiring to cause explosions likely to endanger life or cause serious damage to property.



In 1966 Behan-i (Anti-Vietnam War Direct Action Committee), an Anarchist student group, raided a machine-gun factory, cutting off the power for a while, and later, another war factory in Nagoya. Behan-i fell apart soon afterwards and no similar actions have taken place since.

In January, 1969, the JAF carried out a "deployment in the face of the enemy"; in simple language, it dissolved. This was done on the grounds that the federation wasn't functioning, had developed sectarian tendencies, wasn't producing enough propaganda, and new methods had to be tried to reach non-sect radicals.

At present the number of Anarchist groups in Japan is completely unknown; only a very few groups would actually call themselves Anarchist. Sectarianism, while nothing compared to that of Zengakuren, is still quite bad, even in those groups that have strong theoretical opposition to it—many people are not on speaking terms with individuals of certain other groups. The following descriptions of six groups should give a fair picture of the various tendencies. The information on each group, with the exception of the Anarchist Club, is taken from either articles published by the group or conversations with its members. As the figures for membership and circulation of publications are those provided by the groups themselves, one should allow for ordinary exaggeration.

#### Jiyu Rengo Sha

Jiyu Rengo Sha (Association for Free Federation) was begun by Kou Mukai in early 1969. It does not consider itself an actual Anarchist organization but says its Anarchist tendency is a natural result of the needs of the present Japanese social situation for an unstructured anti-authoritarian radical movement.

Jiyu Rengo Sha believes that there is an urgent need for joint action by the Japanese left. By joint action they do not mean under centralised leadership of groups like the SP or CP, methods which have already been defeated, but instead through a union, or more accurately a federation, of independent groups that maintain their individual identity. Joint struggles are usually based on the lowest common denominator, both in goals and capabilities for action, of participating groups (such as massive peace parades); instead each individual and group must work in their own place, both socially and geographically, according to their abilities and the needs of their situation.

The Zengakuren sects do not understand what is meant by a union. Inter-sect rivalry is increasing and they are turning to gangster tactics in their disputes; the revolutionary movement is losing many people who have become allergic to the senseless violence of the sects. Each sect believes it alone is the vanguard and demands complete acceptance of all its ideas. Each has the illusion of unifying the left under its domination—they shout "union" but they mean "follow us". They are only able to make temporary allowances for opportunistic reasons.

The first step in building a free federation is to build a communications system among radical groups; Jiyu Rengo Sha's eight-page monthly newspaper has a circulation of 2,000. The newspaper contains very little abstract theory or analysis of great events, but instead specializes in "mini-communication"—information about the progress and difficulties of various small group activities that are ignored by the mass-communi-

cations network. Jiyu Rengo Sha, which looks on itself as an information centre, attempts to use the newspaper to promote mutual aid and to bring together individuals and groups working against the authoritarian movement. The newspaper has no particular staff and readers are expected to write articles; each issue brings in about 100 letters from readers.

The active members of Jiyu Rengo Sha do not usually work together as a group, which they feel would result in their becoming just another sect. Instead they "practice what they preach" and work as individuals or as action groups within their local situation; they are involved in more than 200 groups. About half of the activists are students and work at their universities with other non-sect radicals. The non-students are mainly active in Beheiren and various community groups; only a few are active in the labour movement.

#### CSL

Jiyu Shakaishugisha Hyogikai (Junbikai) (Council of Free Socialists) generally refers to itself as CSL, from the French translation of its name. It also sometimes goes by the name Jiyu Rengo Ha (Free Federation Faction).

During the Zenkyoto movement, a number of Anarchists at Waseda University were active in the Waseda Anti-War Federation. When the Anti-War Federation began to shrink with the collapse of Zenkyoto in late '69, the Anarchists met with Anarchist students at other Tokyo Universities and organized CSL.

CSL believes that Anarchism is required in the present situation, but not in its traditional form. Traditional Anarchism lacks a real theory of the process of revolution. What is needed are concrete proposals for establishing an effective, practical Anarchism, not just the ideals of freedom and justice. The new movement should work toward the creation of a communal society.

The revolution must be made through workers' and citizens' councils, similar to the French Action Committees, but the idea of a "party revolution" still dominates the Japanese left. CSL would like to operate in a manner similar to the Spanish FAI within an as yet non-existent mass movement similar to the CNT. Libertarians should fight against Stalinism physically and ideologically; they should fight together with the "New Left" but oppose it ideologically.

CSL is particularly interested in learning why former Anarchist movements were defeated and why Marxism became Stalinism. It has been criticized by other Anarchistic groups for Marxist tendencies; officially it is neither Anarchist nor anti-Marxist.

About three-quarters of CSL members are students. They usually work as individuals with non-sect radicals, but gather together at mass demonstrations; as many as 1,000 people have joined with CSL on such occasions.

CSL has published a few issues of "Eikyū Kakumei" ("Permanent Revolution"), which sells 3,500-4,000 copies. Articles generally consist of opinions and positions on various problems; criticism of other groups, particularly "New Left" and non-sect; reports on activities; and theory of revolution, organization, etc. It also publishes a monthly internal Bulletin and occasionally contributes to left-wing magazines.

#### Mugi Sha

Mugi Sha (Barley Association) derives its name in a

roundabout way from the name "Bakunin". After the JAF broke up, it was formed by some of the older Anarchists, who intended it to be something like a union. After a few months a group of students occupied the office and the original group left. It is fairly close to CSL and shares an office with it.

Mugi Sha, with only 15-20 activists, is trying to develop into something like Freedom Press. It has translated several pamphlets, but is hampered by extreme poverty. It also puts out "Mugi Sha Tsushin" ("News About Mugi Sha"), which contains articles on "politics, art, social problems, and any other problems concerning man".

Mugi Sha also organizes study groups that, in addition to studying Anarchism, spend about one-third of their time on Marxism to be able to criticize its defects and to adapt its strong points for use in an Anarchist context.

#### Japan Anarchist Club

The Anarchist Club is now reduced to about a dozen members, all old, but it has close connections with some groups of young Anarchists. It irregularly publishes 400-500 copies of "Museifushugi Shimbun" ("Anarchist Newspaper").

#### Thanatos

Thanatos (Greek for "death"), Aka Ono No Kai (Hatchet Society) was founded in the autumn of 1969.



A Zen Gurken meeting.

Its 20-30 members are mostly from Hosei University in Tokyo.

Thanatos follows the economic theory of Kropotkin and otherwise prefers Malatesta, but puts more emphasis on the feeling of Anarchism than the theory.

Thanatos is close to the Anarchist Club, particularly in its rejection of Syndicalism—while Syndicalism is useful as a tactic, unionism alone is not enough. It sees the revolution as taking place through the occupation of factories, armed insurrection, and individual terrorism.

Thanatos is extremely critical of such groups as Jiyu Rengo Sha and CSL, which it thinks are not really Anarchist but only non-sect, for attempting to work with Marxists. Because of the long history of double-dealings and betrayals by Marxists, joint action can easily prove fatal. The Japanese radical Marxists claim to be anti-Stalinist, but in reality are Stalinist themselves.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to build a revolutionary workers movement at this time; the initiative is now with the students and, secondly, the lumpen-proletariat. Thus Thanatos is trying to organize vanguard groups on campuses, at first simply to spread Anarchist propaganda, but later to lead in such Propaganda of the Deed as fighting police and throwing Molotov cocktails, and eventually to form an Anarchist army for both underground and open insurrection.

Thanatos is often accused of being a terrorist organization, but actually, while approving of individual terrorism, it has no intention of starting an organized terrorist campaign. It feels that the internal outrage of individuals cannot and should not be restrained. Its reputation comes partly from the fact that several of its members were involved in the plot of the now defunct Haihan Sha (Rebellion League) to bomb war factories, the CP and Liberal-Democrat headquarters, and other institutions; while making the bombs, they set fire to the apartment, leading to their arrest—at their trial it was discovered that one of the defendants was a police agent; Shida and Haegawa both got two-and-a-half-year sentences and are now going to appeal.

In addition to a monthly internal bulletin, "Nek Dio Nek Majstro", a magazine called "Thanatos" is irregularly published.

#### Libertaire

An Anarchist Study Group was organized in 1963 to bring young people into the JAF. Finding it difficult to rent a room, it changed its name to Libertaire. After the JAF dissolved, Libertaire continued as an independent organization. Last December it began publishing a 12-page monthly magazine with the same name.

Libertaire has been referred to as "mild anarchist"; it promotes Anarchism through sociology and anthropology, both geographic and historical. Through the magazine they hope to spread Anarchist propaganda and to help form the nucleus of Anarchist groups in all corners of Japan, which would be the nucleus of a new Japanese society.

Libertaire has a strong Christian influence; the editor, Augustin Miura, is a follower of Ishikawa. Although most of Japanese Christianity now collaborates with authority and Capitalism, in the past, despite government persecution, it taught the Japanese to be without masters besides God. In Europe Christianity had been degraded



Police attempting to stop a demonstration entering the Ginza in 1969.

and compromised with authority, but its origin was anti-authoritarian. To be a Christian in Japan opened the way to Anarchism, because the moral of Christianity was the same as that of Anarchism; the worship of God and materialism is only a philosophical problem.

Libertaire is trying to reduce the gap between old and young Anarchists and feels that it is making some progress.

Libertaire has about 200 subscribers and sells another 400-500 copies of each issue. The contents generally consist of comments and analysis of various events and news (particularly foreign, due to Miura's contacts from when he was International Secretary of the JAF).

- 1 All names have been reversed to European style.
- 2 Katayama is the patron saint of Japanese Marxism, helped to form the CP, and is buried in Moscow.
- 3 Kotoku's name is actually pronounced "Kotok", but under the rules of Japanese grammar, that is impossible.
- 4 Kotoku himself was an atheist; his last work was "An Essay to Blot Out Christ".
- 5 American Federation of Labour.
- 6 In about 1930 he joined Rono, a group whose theories were similar to Trotsky's. The left wing of the post-war SP developed around the remains of Rono.
- 7 The Japanese version of his name.
- 8 Two, however, are still living.
- 9 The girl who stabbed him now happens to be a Socialist member of Parliament.
- 10 In August '70 a member of one group was kidnapped and tortured to death by a rival sect. It should be noted, however, that they apparently hadn't intended to kill him, but wanted to know his sect's plans. What is particularly ironic about it is that both sects are connected to the same party.
- 11 One non-political man told me that the riot police were just the strongest of a group of identical competing sects.

#### APPENDIX A

##### Union Membership and Labour Disputes in Japan Before the End of WW2

Year	Unions		Disputes	
	Number	Members	Number	Participants
1897			32	3,517 First unions
1898			43	6,293
1899			15	4,284
1900			11	2,316 Public Peace Petition Act
1901			18	1,948
1902			8	1,849
1903			9	1,359
1904			6	879
1905			19	5,013 War with Russia
1906			13	2,037
1907			57	9,855
1908			13	822
1909			11	310
1910			10	2,937
1911	32		72	2,100
1912	37		49	5,736 Yui Kai formed, repression eases
1913	43		47	5,242
1914	49		50	6,904
1915	53		64	7,852
1916	66		108	8,418
1917	80		389	57,309
1918	91		417	66,457
1919	162		497	335,225
1920	273		282	127,491 Depression begins
1921	300	103,412	246	170,889
1922	387	137,381	250	85,909
1923	432	125,551	290	68,814 Great Earthquake Death of Oshio
1924	449	175,454	333	94,047
1925	490	224,000	293	89,387
1926	488	284,739	495	127,267
1927	505	309,493	383	103,350
1928	501	308,903	393	101,893
1929	630	330,985	576	172,144
1930	712	354,312	907	191,834
1931	818	368,975	998	154,528 Manchurian War
1932	932	377,635	893	123,313
1933	942	384,277	610	49,423
1934	965	387,964	626	49,536
1935	993	408,662	590	37,734
1936	973	420,589	547	30,734
1937	837	359,290	628	30,900 Chinese War
1938	731	375,191	262	123,730
1939	517	365,804	258	18,341
1940	49	9,455	158	72,835
1941	11	895	13	32,160 Pacific War
1942	3	111	166	8,562
1943	3	155	279	9,029
1944	0	0	216	9,418
1945	0	0	13	6,627

Source: Izutaro Suchiro, "History of Japanese Trade Union Movement"

#### APPENDIX B

##### Rates of Organization According to the Size of Enterprises Including Government Workers and Government Owned Corporations

Size of Enterprise	No. of organized workers	% of total union membership	% of work-force employed (approx.)
5,000 +	5,267,000	45.4	
1,000-4,999	2,733,700	23.6	
500-999	954,900	8.2	
100-499	1,885,600	16.2	
30-99	647,500	5.6	
29 or less	115,800	1.0	
Private Industry Only			
Size of Enterprise	No. of organized workers	% of total union membership	% of work-force employed (approx.)
1,000 +	4,793,400	58.4	25
500-999	742,900	9.1	
100-499	1,439,200	17.6	15
30-99	411,200	5.0	15
29 or less	60,100	0.7	45

Source: Ministry of Labour, "Basic Enquiry of Trade Unions, 1971"

anarchy

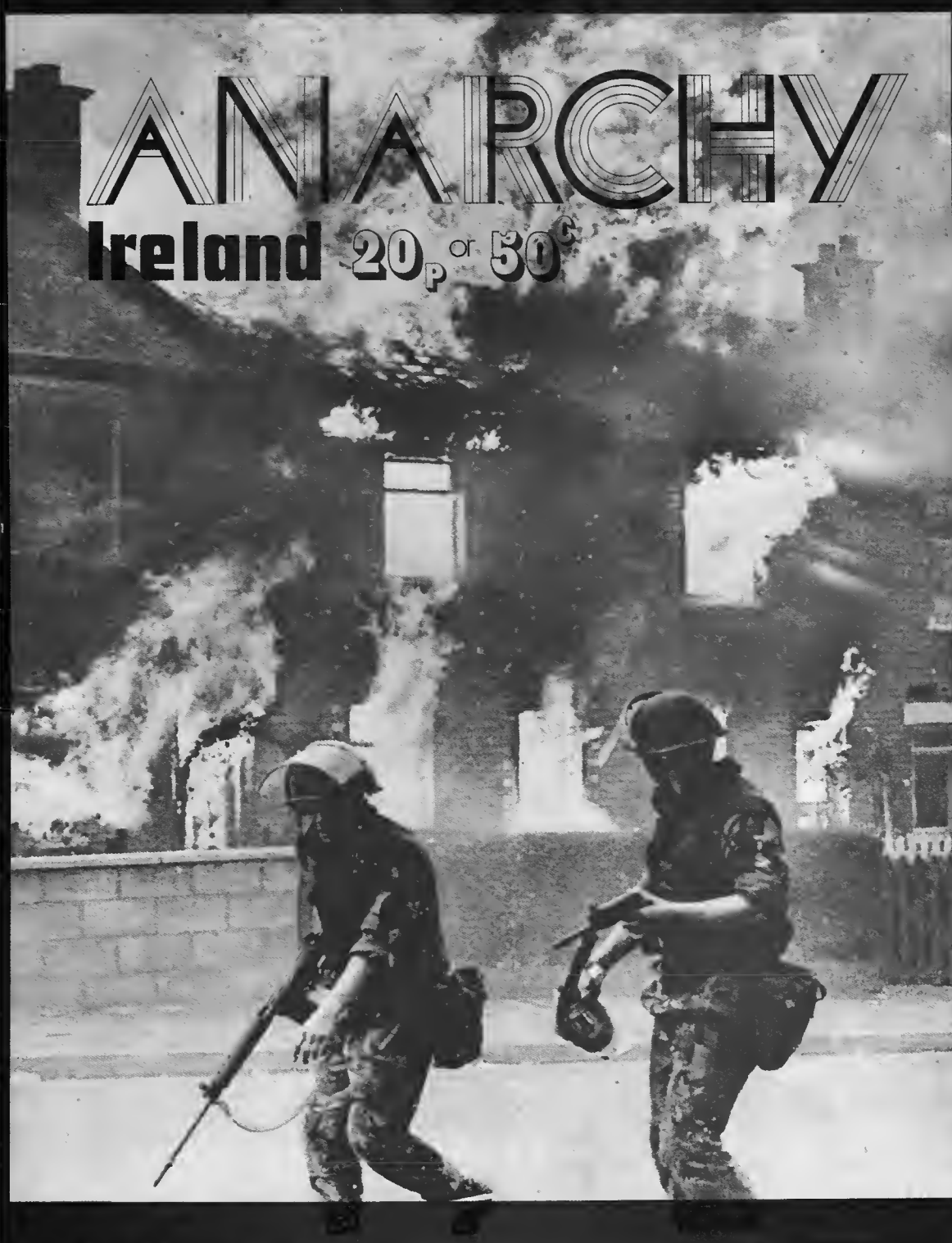


the reichstag fire

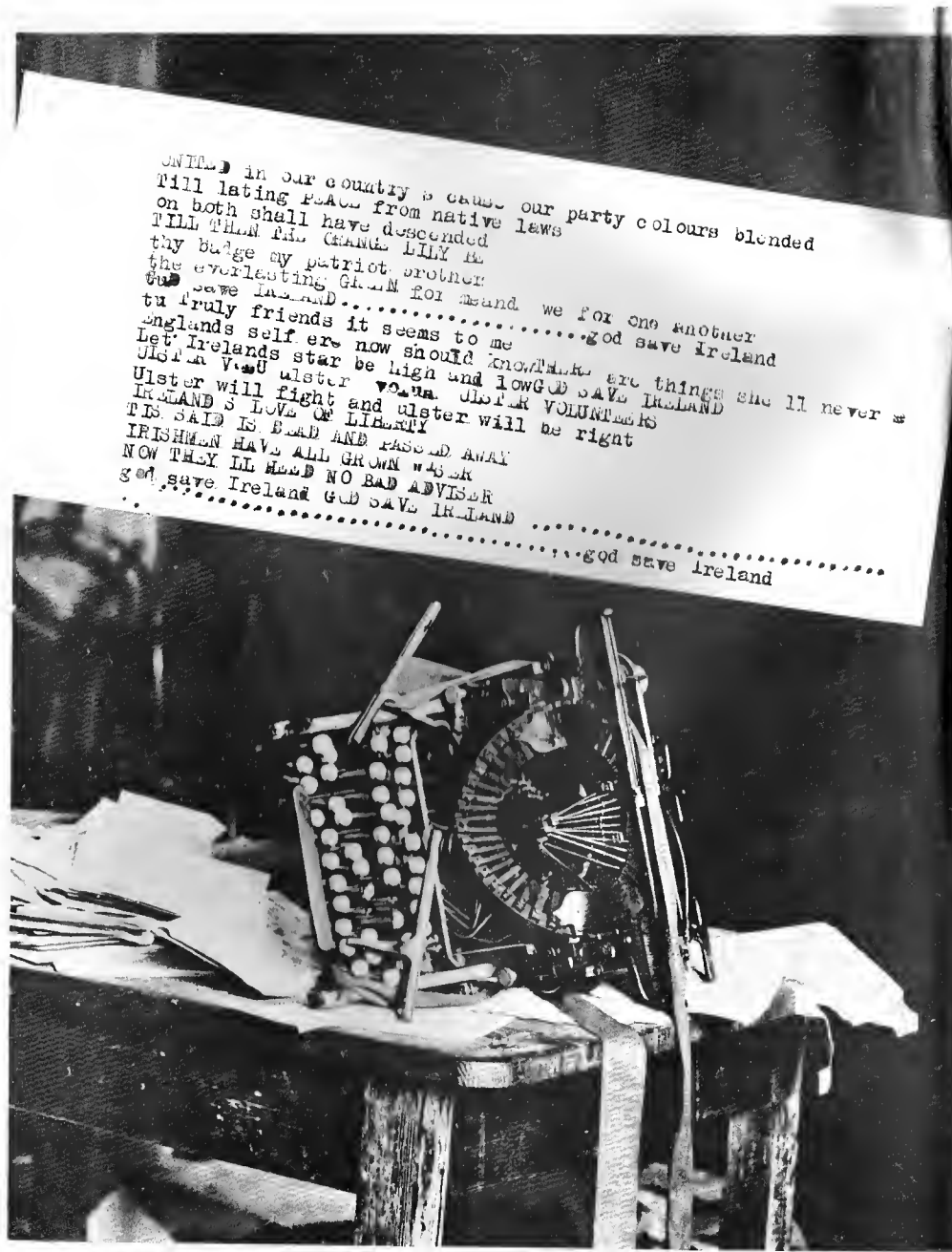


# ANARCHY

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# ANARCHY NO.6



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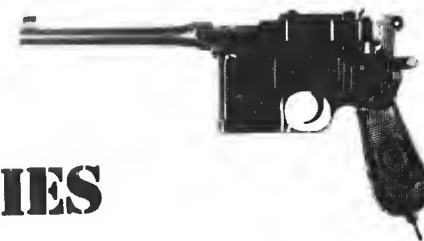
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FOR YOU, YOU ARE  
OUT THERE FOR US

The 'trouble' in Northern Ireland has been raging for exactly three years now. During that time, well over a hundred people have been killed and many hundreds more injured. Unemployment now stands at 10.8 per cent and the minimum estimate of the number of homeless in the province is 10,000. Guesses at the amount of property destroyed vary between £12 million and £150 million (the real reason, incidentally, why troops were moved in). Yet here in England how much significance, really, is attached to the struggle? True, the media daily pepper the English public with items of Irish 'news': the latest death here, the most recent incident there and the latest 'assessment' of what may or may not be happening by some pundit/politician wherever it may be squeezed in. But, we repeat: how much significance is attributed to the Northern Ireland crisis? In our view, very little indeed. In a way, that is the most significant thing one can say about it: in London politicians, money-makers, civil servants, the mass media, people at large and most of the Left regard the situation as not terribly significant. We disagree.

In 1910, 1911, 1916, 1918-23 and, again, in 1935 (to speak only of this century) Ireland has exploded in the faces of its Imperial masters. Today Westminster continues in its refusal/inability to realise the true dimensions of the crisis and would 'wish it away.' Meanwhile, the jumped-up councillors of Stormont, dull-witted and vicious, are enabled to determine the actions of the occupying forces. The struggle in Northern Ireland has, in this sense, now reached the stage where it constitutes the greatest internal threat to the existence of the British state seen this century.

#### REFORMS?

Examine the 'reforms' to see what the anti-Unionist minority has 'gained' over the past three years. The Civil Rights demands were . . .

demand	legislation
1) 'One man, one vote'	O'Neill's franchise reforms, 1969.
2) 'Disarm the RUC'	Hunt Report, 1969.
3) 'Disband B-specials'	- " - and Ulster Defence Regiment formed.
4) 'Take away Housing Trust from sectarian control'	Central Housing Trust formed, 1970.

Legislation has certainly taken place, but in real terms what have been its effects and, more important, how has it been implemented?

- 1) There have been no local elections nor any Stormont elections under the franchise reforms, as it was 'too late' to put them into effect. Derry is still ruled by a commission appointed by the government and its electoral boundaries have still not been redrawn.
- 2) The R. U. C., according to the Hunt Commission was only to be issued arms in extraordinary circumstances and riot duty was to be left to the Army, particularly when there was a danger of armed conflict. Practically the entire police force now carries arms openly and the R. U. C. was recently used for riot duty in Derry's Bogside.
- 3) The 'B'Specials' were disbanded, true. In their place came the Ulster Defence Regiment, predominantly recruited from their ranks. Its number was originally fixed at 6,000. Recently, however, this limit was totally lifted and now units are to be drawn from their own localities just like the old 'B' Specials. The number of Catholics has sharply declined many resigning after Internment was introduced. Also, the number of guns in the hands of gun clubs formed by the Ulster Special Constabulary Association and kindred other bodies is now estimated to be more than 110,000. This, besides the illegal arms in the hands of the Protestant vigilantes of the U. V. F. (Ulster Volunteer Force - a proscribed organisation) who openly display them while carrying out evictions in the mixed districts.
- 4) The Central Housing Trust, founded to prevent

sectarianism in the distribution of publicly owned housing, the issue which triggered the civil rights campaign initially. The Housing Trust has aided and abetted the polarisation of the districts rather than the opposite. They have, with the British Army's consent sought ghettoisation as a means of implementing the division between the two communities, which, from the Army's point of view makes 'policing' so much easier. This explains why the Army turned a blind eye to evictions and now actively assist the forcible movement of population. . . . A sorry collection of 'reforms' which adds up to a tidying of the graveyard rather than a genuine attempt to break down sectarian barriers. Each one of these 'reforms' has been manipulated by Stormont to polarise the community and at each step it has been assisted by the Army. The Civil Disobedience campaign may yet see the Army evicting Housing Trust tenants for non-payment of rents - another of their attempts at 'community relations' no doubt.

#### INTERMENT

Internment was in fact aimed at the 'left' political opposition. Its implementation polarised the community in an unparalleled fashion. Violence escalated within half an hour of the internees being seized. Within two hours the entire community of the Catholic ghettos was in arms. The people instinctively knew that this was a deliberate attempt to crush what political voice they had left.

The Left in England reacted swiftly to the situation but was lamentably unable to maintain any unity of action. Different slogans are put out by different groups, more to illustrate the purity of their own politics than to assist the struggle in the North. The seriousness of the American struggle against the Vietnam war or the brilliantly effective campaign against Australian involvement in Vietnam has yet to evolve. Some sections of the Left have even gone so far in their attempts to have their 'line' heard in Ireland as to indulge in 'socialist imperialism' and have sought or are seeking to found groups in Ireland that will be under London's control, though one presumes that these fronts will be conducted from the safety of Dublin drawing-rooms rather than the bloody and miserable battlegrounds of the North. Again, the demand issued by I. S. 's front organisation, the Labour Committee against Internment was, "Fair Trial for All Internees": an obvious sop to its 'respectable' Labour M. P.s. It was heard by the Northern groups with incredulity and they felt, bitterly, that they had been let down once more by the English Left.

Three years have passed in the present struggle and even now the only whole-hearted response is from the Irish exile organisations. Too many people who articulate their doubts about the situation do not know what to do. This same problem occurred in America until groups started to actively combat the Vietnam war without the help of 'fronts', 'parties' and the like or waiting for analyses.

The first stage in furthering the struggle in the U. S. was education (Teach-Ins, etc), coupled with mass action. This issue of Anarchy Magazine aims to contribute to the former. Only you can provide the latter.

#### Introduction

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This article is just an extract from a longer work on the 1907 Dock Strike in Belfast. This unearthing of the Labour history of Northern Ireland is not a purely academic exercise. History, or rather mythologies of history, remain a potent force in Irish politics, and yet the real traditions, the real record of class struggle particularly in the North has been ignored or conveniently buried by bourgeois historians. In published works the 1907 Dock Strike, the first attempt by the unskilled industrial workers of Ireland to organise and fight, rates a few paragraphs, the police mutiny a few sentences. No published work covers the 1919 General Strike, and the unemployment riots of 1934 again rate no more than a few paragraphs.

There is in fact an almost total lack of published work on any aspect of Ulster's modern history. This owes something to the priorities of historians at Queen's University Belfast, who live in an atmosphere something akin to that at the British Embassy in Uruguay, and when they do concern themselves with Irish history they rarely advance beyond the tasteful days of Grattan's Parliament. Southern historians have equally neglected Northern history, imbued with middle class nationalist outlook, they have no interest in the labour movement, perhaps consequently view Northern Ireland as an incomprehensible problem, and anyway find rich pickings detailing the activities of "national" leaders and movements.

The troubles of the past three years have led to a spate of new works purporting to put the Northern problem in its historical context. Given the dearth of accurate material provided by academic historians, given that the authors of this new spate of largely journalistic works have failed to do any basic research themselves, it is little wonder that they have adopted the view that the problems of the North are to be viewed as community or sectarian conflict pure and simple. Thus Andrew Boyd writes in the introduction to "Holy War In Belfast", a work rushed out to take advantage of the riot market, "the long-standing hostility between the two communities has erupted, generation after generation, in violent sectarian riots on the streets of Belfast". He goes on to claim, "Holy War in Belfast probes to the roots and origins of these riots and traces the first outbreaks back to the 1830's". The book is certainly the first that even bothered to cull government reports and describe the actual riots. There is however no attempt to explain why Belfast's record for religious tolerance in the early 19th century deteriorated into sectarian rioting in the mid-nineteenth century. Consequently for Andrew Boyd and other historians like him history is made by individual bigots who just happened to turn up on the stage of history at a particular moment, and riots are caused by the Joe Bloggs of this world who just happen to turn up drunk with a stone in hand on a particular day. The whole social background to the events is ignored, the terrific pressures on the impoverished agrarian refugees who flocked into Belfast, a new industrial slum, are ignored, the connection between community conflict and class conflict is ignored.

At a more crass level we descend to Patrick Riddell, columnist in the "Sunday News", and author of "Fire Over Ulster". If nothing else, his book accurately reflects the kind of ill-informed prejudice which constitutes "knowledge of history" by many Ulster people. Here the tale of community conflict goes further than the mere recital of events looked at through blinkers, the whole situation is viewed in almost racial terms. Northern Protestants and Southern Catholics are both capable of being brutal, but some are more brutal than others. Thus "the Ulstermen defended their state fiercely but they have never in something like 200 years perhaps not since the 17th century, shown such ferocity as the Southern Irish displayed when they fought their appalling civil war. Ulstermen will strike back but they are rarely cruel and they have to be seriously provoked before they strike back at all" (p. 34), and "The Protestant Ulstermen had not descended to such depths of behaviour, such extremes of savagery, as to blow their opponents to pieces with landmines or throw them alive into furnaces". This was apparently an ethnic trait of Southern Catholics.

It is true that there are a few Northern historians who have tried to deal accurately with modern history. A. T. Q. Stewart is one of these, his book "The Ulster Crisis" deals factually with Ulster's resistance to Home Rule, and in particular with the organisation of that resistance. No one can reasonably deny that in 1912 the vast majority of Protestant workers supported the UVF. But a book of this kind does not raise the question why they did so, it does not pretend to cover the experience of the Protestant industrial proletariat in the decade before, it leaves the Patrick Riddells of this world to fill in their own racial explanation, and then on that basis to glory in the resistance.

When we look at the 1907 Dock Strike and the police mutiny of the same year, this simple myth begins to evaporate. We find unskilled workers, mainly Protestant, fighting the employers, many their future leaders in the UVF, we find policemen, many Protestant, mutinying, we find the Independent Orangemen mustering hundreds of Protestant workers under a platform asking Protestants as Irishmen to play their part in the development of Ireland as a nation. To say this is not to deny the existence of community conflict in the North, those who do so bury their heads in sand, it is to say this, community conflict is an expression of acute pressures on the working-class, and cannot conveniently be isolated from the question of class conflict, often indeed community conflict has been used as a deliberate safety valve to prevent class conflict. Time and time again the labour movement has almost succeeded in bringing class war to the fore in Belfast. This was true in 1907. It is only when they fail that disillusioned workers seeking other outlets for their despair fall easy prey to the slogans of sectarian war.

It is then a vital task for Northern socialists to learn for themselves the real history of the working-class in modern Ireland, and to broadcast to the masses their true heritage. This work is necessary for those committed to one or other section of the Labour movement. The very fact that today the Labour movement in the North is going through its darkest period

is witness enough to the fact that mistakes have been made in the past and that there are important lessons to be learnt from those mistakes.

PRIOR TO 1907 the Trade Union movement in Ireland was conservative and reformist, and was dominated by skilled workers. Unskilled workers were hardly organised at all, and yet in the two large cities, Belfast and Dublin, were worse off than in large British cities and equally numerous. Larkin arrived in Belfast in February 1907, it was his first visit to Ireland, and he came as National Organiser for the National Union of Dock Labourers. So successful was his message of militant solidarity between unskilled workers in the fight for better conditions that by April 1907 he had recruited approximately 3,000 men to the NUDL. At the end of that month, the Belfast Steamship Company, linked to one of the large cross-channel railway companies locked NUDL members out. They were determined to crush the union while they still had time. Small employers were willing to concede terms to the dockers, it was the large cross-channel companies, linked to the Shipping Federation, which were determined to win. The Shipping Federation was an international blackleg organisation. The blacklegs who came to Belfast had smashed a strike in Hamburg a month earlier. When the Belfast strike was over they were to travel to Antwerp to smash another strike.

When these big guns, led by Gallagher, Managing Director of Gallaghers tobacco factory and Chairman of the B.S.Co., determined to fight, the smaller companies and the City authorities fell into line. In May the striking dockers drove the blacklegs from the quays. Police and military guards were introduced. The dockers could no longer stop the blacklegs working, but Larkin replied by calling the carters out on sympathy strike. The ships could unload at the quays, but blackleg carters had to run the gauntlet of angry workers on every street. Carting soon ceased.

The authorities were extremely hesitant in the face of what for them was a rapidly deteriorating situation. They had used force before in sectarian confrontations, but in this case they were threatened by a purely labour dispute, most of the strikers were Orangemen, they had the active support of many Catholic workers, the shipyard workers, and they were led by a Catholic. Blackleg carters were being attacked in places as far apart as Divis Street, Sandy Row and the Ravenhill Road, indeed on the Ravenhill Road the police had to baton charge rioters.

By July 12 at least 5,000 workers in the City were affected by strikes. At the Independent Orange Order demonstration a collection was held for the strikers, and in the following week strike meetings were held in Sandy Row, Ballymacarrett, on the Falls, on the Shankill and in York Street. In the face of this united stand by the unskilled workers of Belfast the authorities were first unwilling to act, and then, when they did prepare to act, found that their instrument of oppression, the Royal Irish Constabulary, would not act for them. The fateful decision which finally precipitated mutiny



was taken on July 18. Members of the RIC were ordered to escort traction engines through the City. The traction engines, equipped with makeshift armour had been shipped to Belfast a week earlier specifically to break the strike.

The police were already overworked without any further extension of their duties. The "Northern Whig" for July 11 reported "the strain on the police is daily increasing and yesterday between 50 and 60 members of the force from Henry Street barracks alone, were on duty from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m." As early as June 29 an irate correspondent had described just what sort of work this was "the spectacle to which we were treated yesterday of a waggon-load of goods going to the quay under the protection of a score of constables is a singular one indeed, of course on that basis it would require half the entire strength of the RIC to protect the traffic to and from Belfast harbour and the Railway termini".

The authorities were overcomplacent putting this kind of strain on a force which had its own grievances. In recent years there had been two commissions of enquiry into the conditions of the constabulary, but in the words of the "Constabulary Gazette", one made "paltry recommendations that have never been put into effect, the other, confined to Belfast, has been kept by the state as a secret document". Policeman's pay in Belfast varied from £78 to £62 16s. p.a. That is roughly 30s. a week down to 24s., a wage marginally higher than that of the best-off dockers and carters. But policemen were expected to live in respectable areas of the city, they had to pay their own tram fares on the way to duty (this affected very seriously suburban constables drafted into the city daily to deal with the strike disturbances). The police were supposed to get 1s. extra if they were on continuous duty for more than 8 hours, but complained that they were continually being taken off duty after 7½ hours to avoid this payment. It was against this background that a "More Pay" movement had been flourishing in the ranks of Belfast police for some time.

The strike leaders made several references to the conditions under which the police were working. As early as July 7, a visiting speaker from Birmingham, Mr. Jones, commented at a Belfast Socialist Society meeting on the Custom House Steps "the police themselves had been badly overworked from 6 in the morning till 11 and 12 at night, and he saw no reason why they should not bind themselves into a Trade Union". On July 17 Larkin said "the police were working 18 hours a day without any extra pay, and they would go on strike too—only they dared not".

Indeed the police would not have heeded the strike leaders if it had not been for the all-embracing nature of the strike movement itself. They dared to do what Larkin said they would not, because the more they escorted blacklegs, the more they were jeered by Catholic and Protestant workers alike. When a local police force cannot live peacefully in the midst of any section of the community then indeed its loyalty is threatened.

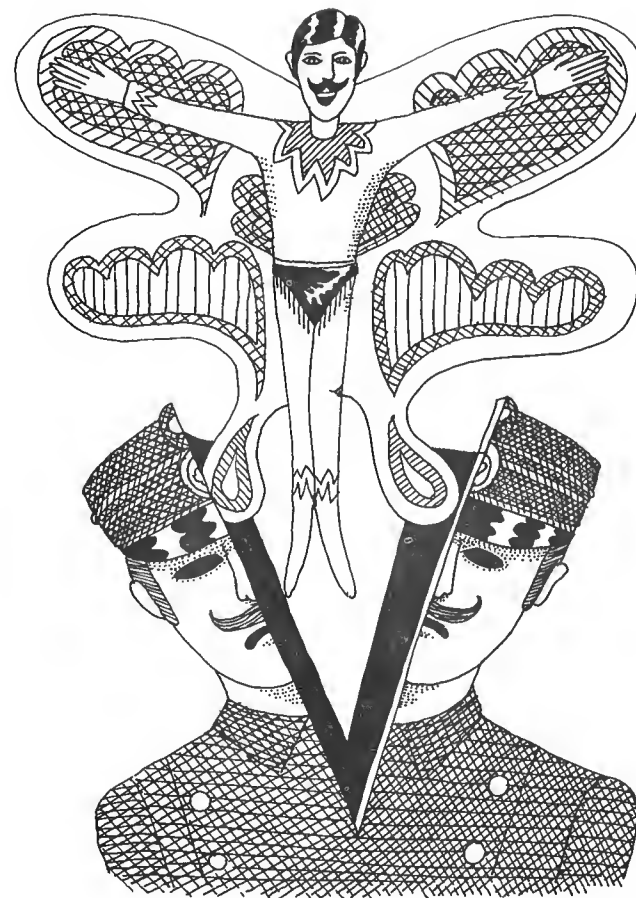
All forms of agitation in police ranks were of course illegal. This had one fortunate consequence. The

rebel policemen used the columns of the "Irish News" to put forward their plans and views, thus leaving a unique record of their activity.

First let us take their attitude to the strikers. Their letters show quite clearly how they had been enormously affected by the strike movement. How they had in some cases unconsciously adopted a revolutionary position on the role of the police in Ireland. "Willing to Strike", undoubtedly one of the leaders of the "More Pay" movement, perhaps a group, wrote on July 10 referring to "the screeches of the capitalist newspapers in Belfast for the past few days over what they term the gross neglect of duty by the police force of this city in not attacking and batoning the unfortunate strikers who are merely looking for justice from their employers" "the strikers are as ourselves, trying to better their conditions, and if we work together we will wring from the government what I trust the strikers will soon wring from the capitalists—more pay". "Willing to Strike" wrote again on July 16, in sarcastic vein, "of course we should slaughter all before us to settle this strike for the capitalists, who hate us as much as their unfortunate workmen. When they failed to turn the strike into a sectarian business they thought it would be a good idea if they got the police and 'strikers' into conflict".

A further letter from "Willing to Strike" appeared on July 22. It told how the RIC officers were doing "all in their power to humiliate the Belfast police in the eyes of the public by turning them into 'blacklegs'—to please their friends the capitalists. They tried to make us accept tea from these companies, and put us under an obligation to these 'English sweaters', but we indignantly refused to sell our independence". In an editorial published on the same day the "Irish News" gave extracts from other letters it had received, one included this pathetic passage "it is shameful to see a uniformed peace officer sitting under the funnel of a 'Puffing Billy' or taking the other side of the car to the driver and getting hooted and jeered at through the streets. Walking after the prohibited waggons is bad enough, and sometimes one has to run a little".

Some policemen, aware of the unhappy nature of their role on the streets of Belfast, went on to analyse the role of the RIC in Ireland as a whole. The "Irish News" editorial on the 22nd included the following extract from a letter: "... we have never shirked any task imposed on us, no matter how odious it might have been; yet we do not get a living wage. We have made evictions possible from Donegal to Cork. We have left nothing undone that was demanded or expected of us. We regret our past misdeeds". "Slave", writing on the same date, said, "The RIC were not established and armed to police Ireland but to soldier it. They were established as a garrison to enable those arbitrary rulers and landlords to impoverish, enslave, and wring rack-rents from the poor unfortunate people of this country—our fathers and grandfathers. These tyrants and landlords were the indirect employers and masters of the police. These masters have nearly all fled, owing to recent land legislation, and the few who remain have no



interest in the country; they are merely waiting for their bonus."

"Willing to Strike" explained in an eloquent statement on passive resistance on July 16, how policemen should act if ordered against the strikers. "Do our duty in a passive manner; do nothing we can avoid. We may be ordered to charge a crowd of 'strikers' by our officers, but they cannot make us strike them! We can refuse to identify rioters, for there is no one so blind as he who will not see. In a thousand ways we can turn the law into a farce. This is our only remedy now."

The use of the police force to escort motor-waggons from July 19 sparked off the mutiny. On that day Constable William Barrett was ordered by District Inspector Keaveney to share the cab of a waggon with a blackleg. Barrett refused. Keaveney appealed to Head Constable Waters who ordered Barrett to do as he was told. Barrett again refused and was suspended. At the later disciplinary proceedings Keaveney explained whose instructions he was following. "Mr. Kemp (the employer) told me that Mr. Morrell (the Acting Commissioner of Police) promised him that a detective would sit with the driver of this motor" ("IN", August 2).



Royal Irish Constabulary Cap

Barrett, dispensing with the legal niceties of the dispute, explained in a letter to the "Irish News" published on August 8, after his dismissal from the force, "The precipitating cause of the police strike and the subsequent trouble leading to the importation of 6,000 soldiers into Belfast was due to the unwarranted conduct of the Acting Commissioner (Morrell) in having entered into an alliance with the railway companies and masters in order to defeat the carters and dockers in securing the rights they are fighting for".

Even the "Constabulary Gazette" supported Barrett's stand, this time on purely legal grounds, they commented: "In the first place if a policeman was necessary he should have been a uniformed man; and in the second place there is, we are informed, an order with which the officers ought to be familiar, to the effect that members of the RIC are directed not to sit with an obnoxious person when on protection duty, but rather to drive on a vehicle behind them".

Barrett's suspension was merely the final straw, three days earlier on July 16, "Willing to Strike" had indicated that trouble was brewing: "In a short time a circular will be sent to each of your barracks giving you instructions how to act. In the meantime keep cool; don't get into unnecessary conflict with the workmen; subscribe as much as you can for their support—and say nothing. Your officers will be against you in this movement and will look for victims."

The circular was published in the "Irish News" on July 22. The body of it ran as follows: "Comrades—having regard to the letters which have recently appeared in the public press and the feeling of indignation which we are all aware prevails in our midst, the hardships and injustice which are lately becoming unbearable, the despotic rule which prevents us from ventilating this injustice, we cannot refrain any longer from making our views public."

The circular then referred to "the exorbitant cost of living and the excessive difficult duty which we have to perform", and went on to say that the time was now ripe for "a petition setting forth our views on this matter" this to be submitted to the government for due consideration.

The circular was moderate in tone—"we have been told lately to strike, but such is not intended if it may be avoided by granting us the justice which we deem necessary". Its concluding paragraph ran "now comrades you are not required to do anything underhand or injurious to your position. The press is always willing to assist you. All that is required is justice and no body of men have remained so long waiting patiently for this as the police have".

The circular gave detailed organisational arrangements for a delegate meeting to be held at Musgrave Street Police Station, at 7 p.m. on Wednesday, July 24. "On receipt of this circular you will please hold a general meeting at each station. An intelligent man will be appointed to represent the party, who will enquire carefully into the views of the men, and note same for the information of the general meeting. This man should be appointed by his comrades, he will sign first, the remainder of the party to sign after. Then the list of names should be taken possession of by the selected man." The representatives were to bring "their list of names, also a summary of views".

The resolutions to be proposed at the meeting were:—

1. A rise of pay of 1s. per man.
2. That our pension on leaving be calculated as three-quarters of pay.
3. To appoint a solicitor to draw up a petition in legal form, and submit same to His Majesty's Government.



Royal Irish Constabulary Captive

4. To apply to the Inspector-General by wire for his permission to submit same.
5. General.

The day before the meeting, Tuesday, July 23, the authorities acted. Acting Commissioner Morrell issued a circular headed "More Pay Movement" ("IN", July 25)—"With reference to the circular which has been sent to the several barracks in the City this morning asking the men to hold a general meeting, I have directed that you remind the men that no such meeting can be held without the direction of the Inspector-General—By Order."

On the morning of the meeting "Willing to Strike" replied in the "Irish News". He reported that the dissident circular "has been seized in a number of stations by those in charge on its arrival and submitted to the Commissioner" and went on: "Comrades, hold your meeting in Musgrave Street Barracks, as suggested, and if not permitted to hold it there, march in a body to Queen's Square and hold it there".

That night between 200 and 300 men defied the official ban and went to the meeting held in the reading room at Musgrave Street Barracks. An "Irish News" reporter attended the meeting and gave a full account of the proceedings ("IN", July 25). The room was crammed to the doors, but before proceedings could begin a Head-Constable appeared and said that the meeting was banned. The men shouted, "We will hold the meeting". Barrett said, "Let all the men who are with us stand here" pointing to a corner—several men moved to the corner to the accompaniment of deafening cheers. Then from the stairs came a shout of "Attention!" The men stood to attention and the Head-Constable entered followed by Acting Commissioner Morrell. Morrell asked angrily, "What is this men? What is this I hear?" There was no answer. Morrell ordered "All the men with three years' service fall in outside." There was no answer. He then asked a constable, "What service have you?" "Seven years," came the reply. Morrell then ordered, "All men of 20 years' service come forward." Shouts came from the assembled men. "Not one man of ye go forward." "Not one of ye don't." Morrell proceeded to walk round the room threatening individual men. Barrett then spoke up, "Let no man, let no man tell his service to anyone. We are here to hold a meeting. Why should we be prevented from holding a meeting? It is as much our right as any other men in this city. Don't allow yourselves to be bullied. If we can't hold a meeting here we can hold it outside. But in any case you must stand together. Stand together comrades and all will be well." Morrell advanced towards Barrett and ordered, "Constable, leave this room." Barrett replied, "No, I will not, I am acting perfectly properly in warning these men against interference. I will not." Morrell and District Inspector Clayton rushed forward to arrest Barrett, they seized him by the collar, the constable next to Barrett punched Morrell and he went down on the floor. Morrell then punched Constable McGrath and declared him suspended. McGrath replied, "I don't care about you or your service. I can make as good a living anywhere else." Then pandemonium broke out. Barrett

pleaded for quiet and asked permission to reason with the men. He was again ordered out of the room. Barrett then ordered the men to fall in two deep and to march to St. Mary's Hall. "Come on, I will show you a place where we can hold our meeting."

The men ran cheering down the stairs and lined up two deep in the yard. Just as the gate was being opened Morrell shouted, "I appeal to you, for God's sake don't go any further with this thing. Don't go outside that gate into the street. Don't make a disgrace of the policemen of Belfast—I am going into my office. Appoint five men amongst you and I will let them confer with me there. I give you ten minutes to consider this." The men agreed to this, met Morrell and made arrangements to see him again three days later on Saturday evening. Morrell issued a statement on Friday, July 26, admitting that he had agreed to see the men. "I have agreed to hear the views of the five men selected on Wednesday last tomorrow evening at my office and no more men are to attend unless I send for them" ("IN", July 29).

The "Irish News" account of the Wednesday night meeting created a sensation. The Tory Press dismissed it as Nationalist rumour-mongering. The "Northern Whig" for example, describing the incident in which Morrell was knocked down, said: "All that happened was that his foot was trodden on." Barrett, defying police regulations, wrote to the "Irish News" on July 27, under his own name, confirming the "Irish News" account and the "Constabulary Gazette" described the scene accurately "when physical force was resorted to resistance followed. County Inspector Morrell was knocked down and both he and Mr. Clayton were driven from the room; tables and forms were overturned and the police cheered defiance to all authority."

Tom Sloan, Independent MP for South Belfast and prominent in the Independent Orange Order raised the matter at Westminster on Thursday, July 25, the day after the meeting. The authorities did not yet consider the situation serious. Augustus Birrell, Secretary for Ireland replied "there is some dissatisfaction on the question of pay, but full consideration will be given to any legitimate complaints".

The serious nature of the police unrest became clear on Saturday, July 30. Morrell had asked to see five men, but by mid-afternoon many groups of policemen could be seen making their way to Musgrave Street Barracks. They had to push their way through a dense cheering throng of strikers for it was clear to the strikers that something was afoot. That morning it had been announced that Barrett was suspended for writing to the press, and that any gathering at Musgrave Street was banned.

Despite this more than 500 and perhaps as many as 800 policemen arrived to pack the courtyard at the barracks. Barrett marshalled the men into ranks six deep. They represented a broad cross section of rank and file policemen in Belfast. A Unionist Councillor, Frank C. Johnston told the "Telegraph" (Monday, July 29) that the gathering was not "of a party (i.e. sectarian) nature at all, as he saw at the meeting members of the force representing the different religious denominations". Although mainly the younger

contd on p. 28



## James Connolly

**JAMES CONNOLLY (1868-1916)** born in Edinburgh of a Co. Monaghan father, was Commandant-General of the Dublin Division. He was a member of the Military Council and Provisional Government. He founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party in Dublin in 1896. In 1903 he emigrated to the U.S.A., but returned after seven years. With Padraic Pearse he led the main Insurgent force from Liberty Hall to the G.P.O. Severely wounded during the fighting, he was taken after the surrender to Dublin Castle. Despite his condition he was executed—sitting on a chair—on May 12th, in Kilmainham Jail.



AN IRISHMAN'S OPINION of James Connolly depends a great deal upon which political party he supports. Connolly has been hailed variously as a republican, a communist, a nationalist and a christian-socialist. All of the left-wing parties in Ireland have swooped like vultures upon his corpse and even the church, which he bitterly opposed during his lifetime, has shown some signs recently of joining in the chorus of lip-service paid to his name. All of this may be regarded as a measure of the high esteem in which Connolly is held by the Irish people but it serves to effectively obscure the political philosophy of James Connolly. He was executed as one of the leaders of the Easter Rising in Dublin in 1916 but he was not a republican. Before the rising he had told the members of his Citizen Army: "Being the lesser party we join in this fight with our comrades of the Irish Volunteers. But hold your arms. If we succeed, those who are our comrades today, we may be compelled to fight tomorrow." What then, persuaded Connolly to join in a fight with those whom he regarded as potential political enemies? In order to answer this question it is necessary to review briefly the evolution of his ideas, particularly those concerning the post-revolutionary form of society, which differ from those held by other political parties in Ireland and are thoroughly anarcho-syndicalist.

He was born on the 5th of June, 1870, in the small market-town of Clones in County Monaghan of working-class parents. Very little is known of his early life but we may safely assume that he and the members of his family were not strangers to hardship and unemployment and that these factors prompted them to emigrate to Edinburgh, the Scottish capital, in an attempt to improve their lot. Young James at this time was under the legal age for work but nevertheless he got a job as a printer's devil with the local "Evening News" until he was spotted by a factory-inspector and the firm was forced to dismiss him. He next worked in a bakehouse and in a tile factory and then left for Glasgow where he settled for a spell before moving to Perth where at the age of twenty-one he was married to Miss Lillie Reynolds. His father, meanwhile, had been disabled in Edinburgh and when the news reached Connolly he returned home and began work as a dustman with Edinburgh corporation.

During this period he became interested in politics and began to attend meetings of the Social Democratic Federation. The SDF eventually nominated him as their candidate for St. Giles Ward and since he had been obliged to give up his employment in order to secure the nomination his subsequent defeat at the polls forced him to take up other work and we next hear of him working as a shoe-maker but when Shane Leslie of the SDF suggested that he return to Dublin in order to help develop the socialist movement in Ireland, Connolly agreed. So in 1896 he returned to Dublin and yet another change of occupation. This time he worked as a navvy and a proof-reader, his previous experience with the "Evening News" probably proving helpful to him in the latter occupation. On August 13, 1898, the first issue of the paper with which his name was to become forever associated—"The Worker's Republic" appeared. It was published by the Socialist-Republican Party and its publication was due mainly to the generosity of

Keir Hardie who made a personal loan of £50. Since it was operated by voluntary labour it fell foul of the printers' union and Connolly appeared before them on a charge of blacklegging. Connolly asked the union leaders if the use of private razors meant blacklegging on barbers? "The Worker's Republic" continued in publication and he spent most of his time writing for it and on the first chapters of his book, "Labour in Irish History" before setting out on a journey to New York that brought him in contact with a man who was to play an important part in shaping Connolly's political thinking.

On arrival in America Connolly joined the Socialist Labour Party and was soon elected to the executive of the party which was headed by the famous American syndicalist Daniel de Leon. It may be appropriate to note at this point that on the issue of political activities there is a marked difference in viewpoint between syndicalist practice in Latin countries as compared with Anglo-Saxon countries. In the USA or Britain syndicalists may regard political parties as a necessary evil and may be prepared to use them as a means to an end but this is not the case with, for instance, the French syndicalist. The early French syndicalists rejected all forms of political activity regarding it as a waste of time and asserting that those who became involved in it would inevitably become part of the system. The trade union, they felt, ought to carry out the political education of its own members with the sole aim of overthrowing the state by means of the general strike. After the revolution parliament and representation by geographical areas would be abolished so why waste time in training politicians? The administration of the factories would be undertaken by the workers themselves and syndicates of teachers could run the educational system, syndicates of doctors the health service and so on. De Leon, however, believed in the organisation of a political party and Connolly gained much valuable experience with the SLP and learned a great deal about trade union administration as an organiser for the Industrial Workers of the World.

He returned to Ireland in 1910 and in 1911 he went to Belfast as secretary and district organiser of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. Around this time he published his manifesto of the Socialist Party of Ireland which ought to make interesting reading to some Irish politicians who claim to be inspired by his ideas. Elections on a territorial basis would cease under a socialist form of society he said and "the administration of affairs will be in the hands of representatives of the various industries of the nation; the workers in the shops and factories will organise themselves into unions each union comprising all the workers at a given industry . . . the representatives elected from the various departments of industry will meet and form the industrial administration of a national government of the country . . . socialism will be administered by a committee of experts elected from the industries and professions of the land."

During his time in Belfast the mill-owners decided on a speed-up within the mills and working conditions were made very harsh with a number of petty restrictions being introduced. The workers protested and the owners replied with the threat of a lock-out. The

trade union leaders were prepared to sell out the mill-workers and they finally turned to Connolly for help ignoring their own union leaders. Connolly soon discovered that he had a large-size problem on his hands. The strike funds were inadequate and to call a strike would have meant hardship for the workers so he called a meeting in St. Mary's Hall and advised them to return to work but to ignore any unreasonable rules. His advice was simple. "If a girl is checked for singing, let the whole room start singing at once; if you are checked for laughing let the whole room laugh at once; and if anyone is dismissed, all put on your shawls and come out in a body." His advice worked and as a result the petty restrictions in the spinning-rooms were lifted but he found it difficult to make headway in Belfast where, then as now, the textile-barons and factory owners used religious bigotry to divide the working-class.

In 1912 he left Belfast for Wexford where he was involved in trade union activities before finally going to Dublin. Before reviewing his activities in Dublin and the events leading up to Easter Week 1916 it may be worthwhile to pause and examine briefly his political views as outlined in his various works. The syndicalist will find his views very familiar and though he enlarged on the views presented here lack of space prevents giving them in greater detail. His works are freely-available and well worth studying.

"The first duty of trade unionists is to help one another. There must be no division of the forces of labour and the large industrial union embracing all workers in each industry must replace the multiplicity of unions which now hamper and restrict our operations, multiply our expenses and divide our forces in face of the mutual enemy. Add to this the concept of one Big Union embracing all and you have not only the outline of the most effective form of combination for industrial warfare today but also for Social-Administration of the Co-operative Commonwealth of the future." ("The Reconquest of Ireland.")

"The hired assassin armies of the capitalist class will be impotent for evil when the railroad men refuse to transport them, the miners to furnish coal for their ships of war, the dock-labourers to load or coal these ships, the clothing workers to make uniforms, the sailors to provision them, the telegraphists to serve them or the farmers to feed them." ("Labour, Nationality and Religion.")

"When the workers elect their foremen and superintendents and retain them only during effective supervision and handling of their allotted duties, when industries elect their representatives in the National Congress and the Congress obeys the demand emanating from the public, for whom it exists, corruption and favouritism will be organically impossible." ("Labour, Nationality and Religion.")

The principles of trade unionism outlined here by Connolly are familiar to every syndicalist. Solidarity is stressed with one big union based on the industry concerned being the aim, not the division of the union into many small craft unions each with its own staff of petty-bureaucrats. The growth of a trade-union bureaucracy is to be impeded by making all representatives subject to immediate recall. The main function of the union is to prepare its members for industrial

warfare and the general strike is the weapon to be used. In almost every respect the large syndicalist CNT which flourished in Spain prior to and during the Civil War probably bears the closest resemblance to Connolly's dream of the ideal trade union. It is worth noting that the most bitter opponents of the CNT in Spain were the communists who set up a rival union and eventually engaged in open warfare with the syndicalists.

The claim of the Irish communists is a very hollow one even though it is accepted by many people in Ireland.

Connolly was certainly a Marxist but syndicalism has always been a mixture of anarchism, Marxism and trade unionism and on some issues his views were opposed to most of those who describe themselves as Marxist. Some people consider his views on religion to be ambiguous for anyone professing to be a Marxist. He respected the "earnest teacher of Christian morals", yet throughout his life he continued a scathing attack on the church exposing many of its doctrines and institutions. Yet the views of Karl Marx concerning religion were more humane than he is generally given credit for. "Religion," said Marx, "is the sigh of the lost creature, it is the heart of a heartless world, it is the opium of the people." Marx, too, accepted that not all clergymen were instruments of the bourgeoisie and his position is widely different from that of those who are merely anti-clerical.

In his analysis of Irish history Connolly used a Marxist approach. The class-struggle was always emphasised and many of the sham-patriots exposed and he was never simply a nationalist such as Patrick Pearse who considered all the ills of Ireland to have been caused by foreign intervention. Connolly's definition of patriotism sets him apart from the republicans. Arthur Griffith, one of the leaders of Sinn Féin (it is interesting to note that the first issues of the paper "Sinn Féin" carried a serialization of Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories and Workshops"), who would have undoubtedly considered himself to be a patriot was totally opposed to any form of class war, but Connolly's patriotism was not the sham-patriotism of the Irish bourgeoisie who merely wanted to expel the foreigners in order to obtain for themselves a richer share of the pickings. He equated the Irish nation with the Irish working-class. "That which is good for the working-class I deem patriotic, but that party or movement is the most perfect embodiment of patriotism which most successfully works for the conquest by the working-class of the control of the destinies of the land wherein they labour. To me therefore, the socialist of another country is a fellow-patriot, as the capitalist of my own country is a natural enemy." These words of Connolly's would not find a responsive echo today in the hearts of those who have draped either the green or the red flag around themselves in their quest for political power. Since it is necessary for them to enlist mass support in pursuit of their aims they are all socialists nowadays even the most extreme national-chauvinists who pay lip-service to Connolly (e.g. the provisionals).

There was an underground revolutionary atmosphere in Dublin following the outbreak of the first world war. The question of Home Rule had been shelved until the war was over and many Irishmen

joined the British army believing that the re-unification of Ireland would be assured once hostilities ceased. But the Sin Feinners thought differently and concentrated on arming themselves and training in preparation for an armed rebellion. Connolly was opposed to the war on the grounds that it was an imperialist conflict and maintained a genuine socialist and internationalist position. He constantly attacked his trade-union colleagues in Great Britain for turning jingoist and supporting the war and began to prepare his own Citizen Army for action. It is related that on learning of his intentions two of the republican leaders, Patrick Pearse and Sean McDermott visited him and persuaded him to stay his hand as he would have plenty of help if he only waited. The question immediately arises as to why Connolly with his numerically small Citizen Army should even have contemplated armed rebellion. That a man who possessed such a high degree of skill in political analysis should consider engaging in such a futile enterprise seems incomprehensible but is easily explained when one remembers the strong anarchistic element in his thinking. He regarded all revolutions as being a leap in the dark and said, "The revolutionists of the past have ever been adventurous, else they would never have been revolutionists. The spirit of calculation which is the very essence of a good merchant is the destruction of a good revolutionist." His remarks contain a revealing exposure of the mentality of many of our "scientific-socialists" who are imbued to such an extent with the spirit of calculation that they abandon any revolutionary zeal they may possess and begin to think in terms of making a profitable career out of socialism. When even the faint hope of successful revolution presented itself Connolly did not hesitate even though he was conscious that he would not survive it. Speaking to a friend he had met on the steps of Liberty Hall, Connolly assured him that the rebels were all going out to be slaughtered. The anarchist belief in propaganda by deed was obviously well known to Connolly and he may possibly have had the words of the Russian anarchist Herzen in mind: "It is

better to perish with the revolution than to seek refuge in the alms-house of reaction." The latter view would probably have been shared by the idealistic Patrick Pearse and there was probably a deeper bond of understanding between these two men than between any of the others even though they would not have been in entire agreement on political issues.

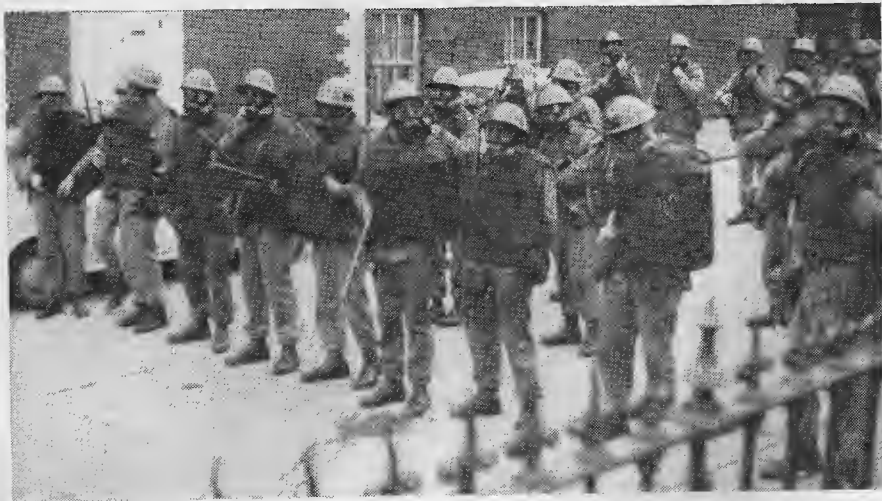
Since the events of Easter Week 1916 in Dublin have been fully recorded elsewhere they may be studied in detail in any of the numerous volumes on that period of Irish history. Briefly the Citizen Army and the Irish volunteers occupied a number of key points in Dublin but owing to disputes within the republican leadership the event did not go off as planned. Orders to take part in the rising had been countermanded by one of the Volunteer leaders but even had all of the forces available taken part it could not possibly have succeeded. Connolly, Pearse and the other leaders occupied the GPO building in Dublin, read the proclamation of the Irish Republic and held out for a week against the superior force of the British army. The GPO was bombarded by shellfire and set on fire and Pearse was forced to surrender the garrison in order to avoid further casualties. He and the other leaders were executed by a British firing squad, Connolly who had been wounded in the fighting and was unable to stand being seated in a chair to face the rifles of his executioners.

The rising seemed to have ended in failure. The bourgeois press condemned it as did the church leaders who must have secretly rejoiced at seeing so many opponents of the hierarchy so swiftly disposed of and the populace had been mainly apathetic. But after the executions the mood of the people swiftly changed and the feeling of revulsion helped to spark off the war of independence. Unfortunately this proved to be a triumph for bourgeois nationalism and during the civil war the socialist elements in the republican movement were ruthlessly suppressed with militant socialist-republicans like Liam Mellows being executed by the Free Staters.

The memory of James Connolly is still alive in Ireland today but his political ideals have either been forgotten or deliberately distorted. His writings are freely available but they are often accompanied by ignorant political commentaries describing him as being a super-patriot a communist a republican or almost anything except what he really was—a syndicalist. Robert Lynd who wrote an appreciation of Connolly for "Labour in Irish History" is one of the few to recognise that James Connolly was an anarcho-syndicalist but then Lynd was a poet and had no political axe to grind. It is a great pity that the Irish who are prone to quarrel with each other over political issues seldom make any real attempt to understand them. They are very easily led by a green or orange banner and inclined to think with their blood rather than with their brains and will always be easy meat for unscrupulous politicians who control the mass media. If Connolly's ideals are ever to be realised in Ireland it will most certainly be through the medium of the younger generation who are much better educated, politically and otherwise than their predecessors. They provide the only ray of hope in the mists of Irish politics.



# NO SURRENDER



## Lynch Liberal Reform?

TEN YEARS AGO, Northern Ireland was a relatively quiet backwater as far as the rest of the United Kingdom was concerned. True, it had just weathered a sustained campaign (1956-62) by the IRA, but that had failed to weaken the constitutional link between Great Britain and Northern Ireland. In fact, the IRA campaign, which consisted of blowing up customs posts, attacking police stations, cutting down telegraph poles and booby-trapping the odd policeman, had demonstrated the "unity" of the Ulster people—the restraint of the Ulster Protestant in the face of such "terrorist provocation", and the refusal of the Ulster Catholic to support the activities of such "evil men". Some scores of these "evil men" were imprisoned (without trial, of course, but then no one really minded), and when it came to the time to release them, even the Northern Ireland Labour Party, in the shape of David Bleakley (now Minister of Community Relations—1971 style) was

prepared to forgo its usual fence-sitting act and came out against the release of the "murderous" internees.

But a cloud loomed on the horizon, Lord Brookeborough, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland since he stabbed J. M. Andrews in the back during 1943, decided to retire to a local geriatric farm. He handed over the tiller of the ship of state to one of the clever young members of the gentry, one Terence O'Neill, thus giving a kick in the teeth to a nouveau-riche upstart called Brian Faulkner.

Unfortunately, Terence didn't heed the advice given to him by his wiser predecessor and was soon to be seen visiting Roman Catholic convents and photographed shaking the hands of nuns and generally giving the impression that Roman Catholics were almost human. This, mark you, despite the fact that he had hitherto been prepared to play the dutiful Protestant and inserted such ads. in the local paper as:—

"Protestant Girl required for housework.  
Apply to, the Hon. Mrs. Terence O'Neill  
Glebe House, Ahoghill, Co. Antrim."<sup>1</sup>

This laxity and liberalism caused such moral degeneration that he was soon led down the slippery slope and was found guilty of inviting the Prime Minister of the Irish Republic to tea and biscuits at Stormont. This action to people who had just suffered at the hands of republican terrorists, was too much, and the rumblings of loyalist discontent were like a Christian Scientist with appendicitis. A saviour was on hand, however, a man of God, who was prepared to lead the children of Israel through the stony desert of cross-border co-operation to the promised land of an Ulster with the British connection, British finance, and British tolerance for a colonised nation.

This saviour—Mr. Paisley, was a loud-mouthed cleric; scheming, ambitious and bigoted. He knew what his audience liked—the titillation of fornication stories from the bible, laced with modern analogies to the barlot of Rome and its political alter ego, Irish republicanism—and he was prepared to give it to them if that was to be the passport to political success.

He threatened to lead a march of outraged loyalists during the 1964 election campaign on the headquarters of the Republican Labour candidate, who had the effrontery to display the Irish tricolour in the windows of his headquarters. Since the headquarters were situated in the heart of the Catholic ghetto, the incident, aided by the police who did the job for Paisley by breaking into the house with axes and removing the offending flag, led to the outbreak of the Divil Street Riots (1964). These were the first riots that Belfast had experienced for thirty years.

Paisley's political star was in the ascendancy. All he needed now was a means of showing Ulster (and the world) that he was more Unionist than the official Unionists. This opportunity came with O'Neill's attempts to transform the cruder aspects of religious discrimination into a less overt form which was more in keeping with the requirements of modern capital investment. His reformism was underlined by the emergence of the Civil Rights movements in Northern Ireland.

During the mid-sixties, a group called the Campaign for Social Justice, based in Dungannon, had been assiduously collecting the numbers of Catholics employed by the local authorities and comparing this with the proportion of Catholics in the same area.<sup>2</sup> This they used to determine the amount of discrimination. At the same time a republican front organisation called the Wolfe Tone Society, with the backing of the Communist Party, began to discuss the social and political set-up in Northern Ireland. In 1967, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association was set-up mainly as a result of the coming together of these groups. NICRA was based on the constitution of the English National Council for Civil Liberties. It was liberal in all its attitudes, timid and afraid of confrontation—not very surprisingly when one considers the CP's influence. NICRA's main activity in these days was issuing press statements. They were given an opportunity to rather more when, in August, 1968, they were invited to lead a march from Coalisland to Dungannon protesting against the corrupt allocation of council houses.<sup>3</sup> A similar march was planned for Derry in October, organised by the local Housing Action Committee.<sup>4</sup> Again NICRA was invited to participate. Among those who travelled from Belfast

was a random grouping of Young Socialists, Anarchists, Liberals and some disaffected students.

What occurred in Derry that day—the ban on the march, the batoning of the marchers, and the subsequent police attack on the Bogside has been sufficiently well documented to require no further description here. What is worth examining in more detail is the effect those scenes had on the coachload of young workers and students who had travelled from Belfast that day, and came face to face with the reality of "law and order" in the shape of a baton cracked across the skull.

Some of the marchers were already politically active with a coherent political philosophy—some of them even carried a Committee of 100 banner on the march!—but most had never thought seriously about politics or the nature of the state. The most common attitude was one of vague liberalism. The transformation of this vague liberalism into conscious libertarianism, and the widespread support which libertarian ideals received subsequently, was a phenomenon hitherto unknown in Northern Ireland.

Stunned—literally—by the police action, the group licked its collective wounds and in the bus on the way back to Belfast decided to try to get some kind of protest underway in Belfast. It was decided to hold a march in Belfast from the University to the City Hall, on the following Wednesday afternoon. Fifteen hundred people, mainly students, assembled at the University. The direct route to the City Hall led through Shaftesbury Square, near Sandy Row. As such it was considered Loyalist Territory, and the Reverend Paisley decided to hold a counter-demonstration to prevent the "holy ground" being taken over by "republicans, rebels, anarchists and communists".

The police fulfilled their usual function in re-routing the march away from the square. By the time the marchers arrived at the rear of the City Hall they discovered yet another police barrier in Linenball Street. Paisley had taken over the front of the City Hall for a prayer meeting (sic). Unable to proceed further, the marchers staged a sit-down for about four hours, then marched back to the University, frustrated at their impotence to carry out a simple protest meeting due



## History of the early PD

to the connivance of the police with the loyalists' tactics, but determined to do something about it.

A very noisy, emotional and exhausting meeting took place and lasted until after midnight. Attempts were made by established student politicians to direct the meeting, but these were quickly stifled, for while most of those present were not politically motivated, they were quite determined that they should not be used as pawns by aspiring politicians. In doing so, they showed a healthy disregard for conventional politics and set the tone for all future developments. Bureaucracy was outlawed, organisational authority was to rest with the people, or be delegated to sub-committees with no executive powers and which were to be subject to immediate recall. A committee for co-ordinating the various activities was elected on this basis and the prime criterion for eligibility was that one should be "faceless", that is politically unknown and uninvolved. Of the ten people elected to this committee, two have achieved some degree of notoriety—Mr. Kevin Boyle and Miss Bernadette Devlin.

There followed a series of nightly meetings of interminable length, though the adrenalin-induced feverishness of the participants gave them energy enough to cope with the physical as well as the emotional demands of their involvement. At the second or third meeting a name was decided upon which would encapsulate the desires of those involved to achieve a libertarian viewpoint in contrast to the repressive nature of the state. The name selected was the People's Democracy. But while the intent of the PD at that time was to get people involved and oppose the non-participation of the population which passes for democracy, their political outlook was limited to reformism.

As an early leaflet states:—

"The main goal of the movement is the achievement of civil rights, specifically our five stated demands. (These were: One man—one vote; fair boundaries; houses on need; jobs on merit; repeal of the Special Powers Act.) The movement is committed also to the principle of non-violent action."

Despite the innocuous nature of these demands, in the Northern Ireland context they were revolutionary. What is more they were being made by a group which cut across the sectarian divide as well as the political fence, comprising Catholics, Protestants (and Jews and atheists), socialists, nationalists, republicans and liberal Unionists. Because of this they achieved widespread publicity, and soon acquired a facility in controlling the media by reversing the manipulative process which usually passes for independent reportage.

The PD advanced from being a simple protest group to the role of militant campaigners for civil rights. Their flair for publicity demonstrated their recognition of the importance of communications. Tourist posters with "Come to Ulster" slogans had the word "fascist" inserted in the appropriate place. Post-cards advertising the beauties of Ulster were over-printed with pictures of slums, and figures for unemployed. A sit-in was staged at the Stormont Parliament on United Nations Human Rights Day. A similar sit-in at the City Hall was followed by police violence and an attempt to snarl up the evening rush-hour traffic. Various attempts were made to march to the City Hall via Shaftesbury Square to demonstrate the right of peaceful procession,

but on each occasion the way was blocked by police cordons who were only too willing to accept the analysis of Mr. William Craig to the effect that the PD was "disloyal" and therefore could not march through "loyalist" territory.

However the PD was moving towards a deeper and more fundamental analysis of the Northern Ireland problem and its own role in it. Marches, it was decided, were fine for publicity, but a more positive educational policy was needed. "The PIP" (Plan to Inform the People) was an attempt to start a dialogue on civil rights among the people, of all types and classes, to point out the injustice existing on all sides in Northern Ireland. To hammer this point home—that injustice is not confined to Unionist controlled areas—we chose Newry as a start. Successful public meetings were held. However, when we continued the PIP campaign in Armagh and Dungannon, physical violence was used against us and the meeting either harassed or broken up.

Behind this statement lies the fact that, confronted with an opposition group which was not Catholic, and which indeed was prepared to attack Catholic corruption as well as Unionist chicanery, the NI Government reacted in the only manner it knew how, by stirring up violently sectarian feelings among loyalists by claiming that the centres of towns were being taken over by Anarchists and troublemakers, who were Catholics in disguise, and who wished to destroy the fabric of society. Having succeeded in engineering violence, the government then made its gesture. Terence O'Neill made his "Ulster at the Cross-roads" speech, which was remarkable from his other speeches only in that it contained more nauseating platitudes and homilies to the paragraph than usual.

Some civil rights groups were taken in by this and arranged a truce with the government. This was particularly true in Derry where the conservative influence of John Hume, later MP, was making itself felt in the Citizen's Action Committee. The PD refused to participate in this truce and said that O'Neill's 5-point reform package was an attempt to gull the people and delay reform. However a march in Belfast—to Stormont—on December 14 was cancelled. This was due to two factors: (a) the liberal Unionists and "moderates" believed that with O'Neill's assurances, the civil rights movement was now unnecessary and should disband, and (b) more importantly, the open nature of the PD organisation, where anyone who attended a meeting was automatically a member and entitled to vote, meant that the movement was subject to being flooded by people hostile to its aims who would use their votes to distort the policy decisions being taken.

This is precisely what occurred over the December 14 march. The University Unionist Club "the Cuckoo Club" managed to pack the meeting with their supporters and on a close vote, the march was called off. At a later meeting however, a further march was arranged, this time covering the 75 miles from Belfast to Derry. The story of that march, the continual harassment, the police partiality, culminating in the highly organized ambushes at Burntollet and Irish Street, has already been told (in "Burntollet" by Egan and McCormick), but its effects had massive reverberations.

O'Neill, who castigated the marchers and ignored their attackers, was shown to be a sham. Within his own party there was a rebellion because he was "soft on civil rights".<sup>5</sup> So he called an election.

Elections in Northern Ireland are usually so predictable that no one pays much attention to them. Fought along sectarian lines, it merely requires one to know the religious affiliation of any constituency to be able to predict the result. Because of this most constituencies were never contested prior to 1969. Terence O'Neill, PM, had never had to fight an election in all his twenty-one years in parliament. But this time, there was something different. The PD decided to put up candidates.

The decision was reached only after much soul-searching. How, it was asked, could the PD ask people to vote for them to put them into parliament when they had been denouncing parliament as a sham and a farce, and politicians as corrupt place-seekers? The dilemma was a genuine one, and not only for the anarchists within the PD. But the PD was not seeking power, nor even parliamentary representation. They recognized however that for most people, elections are a time when they consider politics and politicians, if only superficially. With their eye on the publicity and the communications opportunity offered by free television time and postal deliveries, they put forward eight candidates. They stressed at their meetings and in their pamphlets that they were not out merely to win seats.

"In the turmoil of the election campaign it is important that we do not forget that, for the Peoples' Democracy, fighting the election is only one of many tactics.

"We are contesting seats, not to join the carpet-baggers and place-seekers, but because it offers an excellent chance to put our ideas to the people and



keep the demand for civil rights in the limelight. For us democracy is a continuous struggle by the people, not just marking a ballot paper every four or five years.

"People's Democracy must become more and more concerned with special issues, on housing . . . on jobs . . . factory closures . . . trade unions. The main idea to push home is that we must depend on the power of the people and put no trust in Stormont."

Already the differences between PD policy and that of NICRA were becoming apparent. The PD was beginning to recognize that there was more, much more, in civil rights than the mere passing of voting laws or anti-discrimination legislation. The realisation of the need for economic and social issues to be raised as well indicated the development and change from being a liberal civil rights movement to a socialist one. The election manifesto included the following points:—

1. An end to repressive legislation. Repeal of the Special Powers Act. The disbanding of the Ulster Special Constabulary.
2. The declaration of a housing emergency. A crash housing programme. All vacant housing accommodation to be requisitioned. The cancellation of the Housing Trust debts to the Central Banks, to allow the Trust to build more houses.
3. A centrally drawn up points system, based only on need for allocation of houses, with a central board of appeal. The drafting of a housing list open to inspection by the public. An end to social and religious discrimination in housing.
4. Immediate state investment in industry to provide full employment and halt emigration. A massive injection of capital by the government to set up industries under workers control in those state-owned factories vacated by those fly-by-night private industrialists.
5. We recognize the right of parents to determine the kind of education they want their children to have. We want the transfer of responsibility for all educational functions to a democratically elected central government. The grouping together of schools, both state and voluntary—starting with secondary and technical colleges—into a comprehensive system integrated on a social and religious basis involving parents, students and teachers in the government of such schools. Cast iron guarantees that there will be no discrimination in the appointment of staff and that there will be no political indoctrination in education.
6. We oppose the existing agricultural policy of the government which involves the clearing of large numbers of farmers from the land in the west and south of the province. We want employment for all members of the rural community in their own area. We feel that the situation in which a few people control huge estates while many others barely exist on very small holdings is unjust. We suggest that these huge estates are broken up and used to form co-operative farms for those small-holders willing to move into them.
7. We are making our demands for civil rights in Northern Ireland. We recognize the right of the people of Northern Ireland to determine their own political future. The border is not the issue. Civil



Rights is. Many of our demands in the North are equally relevant in the South and we support those who are working for full civil rights there and elsewhere.

This manifesto can be faulted on many counts; and it has been by those who claim that it demonstrates PD is not Marxist or Socialist, or Republican, or libertarian. But in February, 1969, the PD itself did not claim to be anything specific, other than a militant civil rights organisation. Already though, the need to look beyond the narrow limits imposed by civil rights activity was making itself felt. True, there was as yet no recognition of the roles played by capitalism and imperialism in Ireland, North or South; but the election manifesto quoted above, shows a searching and groping for solutions to the economic, social and political problems which made Northern Ireland a bigot's dream and a libertarian socialist's nightmare. They show as well a desire to extend the same freedom which existed within their own organisation to the society at large, and to give people control over their own lives in industry through a system of workers control, in education and agriculture. The implications, or methods of implementation, had not been thought through, but the libertarian concepts central to a restructured society in which people controlled their own lives were pushing through.

The major flaw, if flaw it be, was in the final point which stated that the struggle was confined to Northern Ireland, and that the border was not an issue. This point was seized upon by some politically sectarian leftist groups who even now, more than two years later, use it as a proof of PD's pro-imperialist stance! The criticism would be valid if the PD, at that stage in its development, had claimed to be a revolutionary socialist organisation. It did not so declare itself until October 1969. In February its membership, while steeped in political activity since the previous October, tended to adopt a militant stance and then find political justification later. But on the border issue, they were aware that the Unionist government, divided against itself, and under pressure from Paisley on the right, would attempt to reunite their all-class Protestant alliance by revealing the danger to the constitution and to the border. Consequently there was an attempt to bend over backwards in order to placate the Protestant worker and assure him that he was not being inveigled into exchanging "the blue skies of freedom for the grey mists of an Irish Republic", that, in fact, the PD programme was designed to benefit all workers and not merely those on one or other side of the political divide.

## Across the Lines

The PD election campaign succeeded in uniting Catholic and Protestant more than ever before, and in the most unusual circumstances. The PD tactic of opposing usually uncontested Nationalist as well as Unionist seats had a traumatic effect on the green and orange Tories. In Fermanagh, where there are three constituencies—two Unionist and one Nationalist—the PD stood in all three areas. On polling day, in South Fermanagh the local Orange Lodges ferried their members to cast their votes on behalf of the aged Nation-

alist MP Carron, while in the neighbouring Unionist-held constituencies, the reverse was the case with the local Hibernians turning out in force to support the Unionists against the "red menace" (sic).

There were many other examples of unity in favour of PD, with old republicans sharing polling booth duties with young Protestants. This was further shown in the results themselves where PD candidates did remarkably well. In fact one of them, Fergus Woods, almost did too well in South Down. On the first count, he was elected by nearly 200 votes. There was consternation, not least among the PD workers on the count. On a recount it was decided to add several spoiled votes to the tally of Keogh, the incumbent MP, and so he held on to his seat, to the relief of the PD. In South Derry, the Minister of Agriculture, Major James Chichester-Clark, defeated Bernadette Devlin by 9,000 votes to 6,000, while in Bannside the Prime Minister won on a minority vote against Ian Paisley and Michael Farrell.<sup>a</sup>

## Back to the Streets

Having used the election as a means of putting their policies across to the people, the PD prepared to carry out their election promise and return to the streets at once to protest against the Public Order Amendment Bill. This was an addition to the arsenal of repressive legislation, and opposition to it by the PD indicated that the path they had started on was to be mainly political. The Civil Rights Association and the various Citizens Action Committees decided not to hold any protests since this would be likely to cause trouble and lead to violence. The PD went ahead and organized sit-down protests in six centres—since sit-downs were made illegal in the Bill. Thus the difference between the "political" PD and the "non-political" CRA became more apparent. The chief architects of this politicizing of the movement were Michael Farrell, Eamonn McCann and Cyril Toman, who were responsible for developing the lines of socialist thought à la Marx and Connolly, and John McGuffin who ensured that these lines should not be too narrowly drawn and that the libertarian idealism of the early PD should not be lost in a welter of factional disputes and bureaucracy. Marx and Connolly were read and referred to, but not treated in the hushed reverence of holy icons which is common, on the left. Even "good old Trotters" was spoken of with complete irreverence. Stalin occupied a place close to Sir Edward Carson, Sir James Craig, William of Orange and William Craig.

Throughout the spring and early summer of 1969, the PD continued its programme of politicizing the civil rights movement, not only by its agitation on repressive legislation, but by attacks on those conservative elements in NICRA who tried to maintain that civil rights was non-political, and that jobs and housing had nothing to do with it.

A considerable advance in its political outlook occurred between February and Easter when the PD decided to have a march from Belfast to Dublin. This was significant on several counts. It represented a break with the constitutionalism of the election period. It was the first time since 1921 that anyone had at-

tempted to break through the partition-mentality which afflicted the Irish people—even the republicans to some extent. Above all it was an indication that the PD opposed the superficial but widespread belief among Catholics that all would be well if only the tricolour were flying over Belfast City Hall. It was an acceptance of the fact that the same problems existed in the "Free" State as existed in the Six Counties, and therefore an agreement with the oft-repeated Protestant allegation that life in the South was a vicious circle of low wages, unemployment, bad housing and emigration caused by low unemployment benefits, the lot compounded by the interference of the Roman Catholic Church in political life.

For these reasons the PD marched south, crossing the border displaying banned books—by Henry Miller and Edna O'Brien!—in opposition to the South's censorship laws. The march whose route from Belfast to the border had been banned by the Unionist Government, had been swollen by large contingents of revolutionary socialists and anarchist comrades from Britain.

Organisationally, the march was poorly planned, and this led to some tensions and an occasional flaring temper. But politically the march was very important, insofar as it foreshadowed the absolute dominance of socialist thought within the PD. Not that there had been a "take-over" by the socialists from the liberal and uncommitted mass of the organisation, but rather that when confronted with the full range of social, political and economic problems which burgeoned in Northern and Southern Ireland, the socialists—including the libertarian and anarchist groupings—were the only ones who had a coherent and rational analysis of the situation and who could propose solutions which coincided with the anti-bureaucratic outlook of the membership to the left, and to the point where they accepted as part of PD policy, the establishment of a 32-county Workers' and Small Farmers' Republic.

In the wider context, the political situation in Northern Ireland was hotting up. There was another armed police attack on the Bogside at the end of April during which the RUC broke into the home of Sammy

Devenney, battered his family and himself, inflicting the injuries from which he died. Intermittent violence broke out in other areas, Dungiven, Coalisland, and the Ardoyne and Falls areas of Belfast, as the police used intimidatory attacks on the people, against demonstrations, or just out of bloody-mindedness.

On July 12 Orange marches were held, and the usual sectarian speeches made. Major Chichester-Clark, speaking at Moneymore made a violent attack on the People's Democracy in "making a full-time profession of protest". Serious rioting in Derry, Lurgan, Dungiven, and Belfast. In Dungiven a man died of head injuries after a police baton charge.

On July 26 the PD planned to hold a march in Fermanagh to highlight the way in which the county was gerrymandered, the high unemployment and emigration from the area. The march and all meetings of the PD in Fermanagh were banned. On the day in question, before any meeting was held, individual members of PD, carrying placards, and walking down the street fifty yards apart were arrested. One of those arrested carried a blank placard. Shortly afterwards, a meeting and sit-down took place at which 53 people including women and children were arrested. At a special court held during that night the women and children were granted bail and the 37 men were remanded in custody.

The cumulative effect of all these incidents rendered inevitable the violence which erupted in Derry during the Apprentice Boys' march on August 12, and which quickly spread elsewhere, notably to Belfast, where police Shoreland armoured cars and Ferret scouts with heavy Browning machine guns led combined RUC, "B" Special and extremist Protestant attacks on the Catholic ghettos of Falls, Ardoyne, and Ballymacarrett. In Derry and Belfast these areas were barricaded off against such attacks and became known as Free Derry and Free Belfast.

These "free" areas were bought at great cost—the deaths of at least eight people, the destruction by petrol bombing of 500 working-class homes and the intimidation and eviction of at least another 1,000 families. Further it was bought at the cost of direct intervention by the British army.

## The Barrel of whose Gun?

This created problems for the PD and the left in general. Balanced against their desire to see an end to people being shot down in the streets was their knowledge that in the long term the presence of the military could only make the situation worse. This was shown in leaflets which were issued in Derry and in Belfast. In Derry the opening sentence of the broadsheet stated, "The arrival of British troops on the streets of Derry is a defeat for the RUC; but it is not a victory for us." The Belfast leaflet asked: "Why have the British Government put troops into Northern Ireland?" and answered that the military were here "to hold the ring while Chichester-Clark tries to liberalise the Unionist Government", and explained how peace and reform in Northern Ireland was to the benefit of British capital at this time, just as sectarianism had been useful in the past.

The "troubles" of August, 1969, also saw the end of the PD policy of total non-violence, and the adoption





of the philosophy of self defence. But while the main burden of defence fell on the republicans during the 13th, 14th and 15th, it was after that the PD came into a position of dominance, mainly due to its capacity for control of communications, propaganda and the media. Radio Free Belfast and Radio Free Derry were established and run mainly by PD. The main policy of the stations was to damp down sectarianism, attack the corruption of local Green and Orange politicians, and put forward a solution in terms of a united working-class combining to overthrow those who had manipulated them and set them at each other's throat. A daily newspaper, "Citizen Press", was put out in Belfast "Barricade Bulletin", written mainly by Eamonn McCann, was put out in Derry. All these things were done in close co-operation with the local republicans until the ideological gurus were dispatched from Dublin HQ to lay down the "right line" to the local units. It seemed that the local people, in their eagerness to fight against the armed wing of the Unionist Government, had forgotten about the need to adhere closely to the stages theory of historical development.<sup>6</sup> There-

fore their attempts to overthrow the reactionary Unionist regime were "adventurist", since they were missing out the very important stage of the "bourgeois revolution". So with the advent of Stalinist directives, the PD, finding its movement circumscribed, once again asserted its own independence by establishing its own newspaper—a weekly called "Free Citizen"—which is still running.

They also decided to break away from Queen's University, to lose the student image and establish branches in various centres throughout Northern Ireland. In so doing, they transformed themselves from being a loose organised group into a political movement with a clearly defined political philosophy. In the 18 months since then they have proved not only their determination, dedication and staying power, but also that they have not forgotten the ideals which sustained the early PD, opposition to injustice, destruction of political privilege and the establishment of social conditions whereby people would be in a position to control their own lives and their own localities.

J. QUINN.



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## FOOTNOTES

- 1 O'Neill's "Protestant Girl" ad appeared in the "Belfast Telegraph" in November, 1959.  
 2 Statistics from "Eye Witness in Northern Ireland" pamphlet by A. Corrigan, 1970.

### EMPLOYMENT IN COUNTY TYRONE:

	Protestant	Catholic
Population Ratio	60,521	73,395
County Surveyors Department	8	0
Clerical Staff	22	0
Engineering Department	15	3
Motor Taxation Department	11	0
County Library	22	1
County Hall, Rate Collectors and Clerks	10	0
Cleaning Staff	5	0
Superannuated Staff	17	2
Medical, Health and Welfare Officers	37	3
Nursing Officers and Health Visitors	17	11
Specialised Staff	6	1
Midwives and Reliefs	61	30
County Education Officers	69	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>52</b>

### DUNGANNON RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL:

	Protestant	Catholic
Salaries Employees	45	3
Manual Workers	52	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>5</b>

### FERMANAGH COUNTY COUNCIL EMPLOYMENT:

52% of the population is Catholic		
	Protestant	Catholic
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>338</b>	<b>32</b>

### ARMAGH COUNTY COUNCIL EMPLOYMENT:

	Protestant	Catholic
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>289</b>	<b>11</b>

- 3 Dungannon Rural District Council had one of the worst housing records in Northern Ireland, and its allocation of those houses was invariably discriminatory. However, they even then overreached themselves when they allocated a new three-bedroomed house to a 19-year-old unmarried girl. This at a time when many families in the area were living in hovels, or split up and living with in-laws. The fact that the girl allocated the house happened to be secretary to solicitor Brian McRoberts, Unionist candidate for West Belfast was, of course, coincidental. A homeless family squatted in the house. Local MP, Currie, informed the media, and went along in time to be televised.
- 4 Derry March (October 5, 1968) against unemployment and bad housing. Those involved: Derry Housing Action Committee, Derry Unemployed Action Committee.
- 5 Government opposition to the Belfast/Derry march, Nathaniel Minford, junior member of the Cabinet, MP for Antrim, made several speeches in the two weeks preceding the march. At one he said: "This march is a conspiracy of anarchists and republicans whose clearly defined aim is the destruction of our Protestant heritage, our constitution and our country. They must not be permitted to trample on the rights of the majority. They must be opposed." The day before the march began he appealed to "Beezer"

Porter, the Minister for Home Affairs, to cancel it, stating categorically that it had aroused much opposition in his constituency and he personally supported those loyalists who were prepared to make a stand against anarchy. If the march was permitted to go ahead—"There would be bloodshed".

6 Vote at the Bannside election (February, 1969):—	
Capt. T. O'Neill	7,745
Rev. I. Paisley	6,331
M. Farrell	2,310
Poll: 78.7%	Maj: 1,414

This was the first election that O'Neill had fought since entering parliament in 1948.

- 7 The "Derry Broadsheet" was turned out by various groups, mainly individual members of the Derry Labour Party, Cyril Toman and myself. "No Victory For Us" one was the first of these and was written by Eamonn McCann. The others came out daily and were duplicated sheets.

8 "Stages Theory." Well beloved by our CP brethren. It is basically a mechanistic application of the concept of historical development and progression, i.e. from feudalism, capitalism, socialism, anarchism. The CP and many republicans here believe that Marx stated that in general one has a bourgeois revolution, and therefore we must first fight for the establishment of a bourgeois state, and once that has been achieved, go on to struggle for socialism. We reject this entirely, considering that 1916 was the bourgeois revolution, culminating in the 1921 Treaty. In any case it is not our job to do the fighting on behalf of the bourgeoisie, to put them in power and then see them use that power to crush any libertarian movement which opposed them.

## FROM CIVIL RIGHTS TO GUERRILLA WAR



Top: Small Claymore mine electrically operated by lever on the outside of the box attached to a trip wire or other push-pull device. Bottom: Nail bomb. Nails inserted in corrugated paper wrapped around a stick of gelignite detonated by lighting fuse such as magnesium strip attached to a .22 bullet.

(courtesy of British Army Press Office)



## The hole—Crumlin Jail

### ARREST

I WAS ARRESTED in a fairly quiet area of Belfast last August, two days after the murder by the army in a fairly small riot, of a youth, Danny O'Hagan, allegedly for throwing a petrol bomb. The incident sparked off a week of vicious rioting all over Belfast, even in areas which had previously seen none. I was out walking with my brother and a friend not far from home when we were picked up by the military and charged with disorderly behaviour, which at the time carried a mandatory six month jail sentence. Soldiers don't like rioters or riots. By arresting us they were able to get away from the scene to which they had been sent as reinforcements. They vented their anger in the old way.

When arrested I was wearing my black badge. They did not like my explanation that this was in mourning for Danny O'Hagan.\*

We were convicted on very thin evidence and sentenced to serve six months. On appeal one soldier was forced to admit that he did not actually make the arrest which he had spent the previous 20 minutes describing. Estimates of crowd size, given by the soldiers, varied from 12 to 500. We had four further witnesses to corroborate our story but none the less the conviction stood.

Belfast Prison works in much the same way as other British prisons. As Young Prisoners we were entitled to very few privileges in the first month.

Pay was 3/- per week and we were locked up every evening at 4.30 p.m. We saw no television, except at weekends, worked seven days a week and suffered the same gruel and disrespect as the other prisoners. We were given jobs in the dining hall and spent our days scrubbing floors and doing equally mundane work.

\*Shot by an army marksman in Belfast, August 1970  
—Eds.

### WORK AND SECTARIANISM

I worked every day of my committal (including Saturnalia) except for two days that I spent "sick in cell".

For the first few weeks the prison officers made it their duty to let us know our place. After a month we were given a few more privileges; television, at 8 p.m. every evening except Sunday and pay on a points system. I was then able to earn as much as 6/3 a week.

Making friends was easy. A work squad very quickly becomes a gang. Within these groups there is, on the surface at least, a strong sense of loyalty. I noticed that one or two individuals could hold positions of respect. When the dirty jobs were shared out (prisoners could often decide their own scheme) these individuals got off easy.

Prisons, for some reason, abound with working class people. Throughout the rioting political manoeuvring has ensured that most of the prisoners came from one side of the sectarian fence. Again the heaviest sentences were given to these people. Consequently the proportions of "Catholics" to "Protestants" in Belfast Prison does not reflect the regional trend.

This cannot be explained away wholly by saying that Catholics do most of the rioting or that no Protestant subversive army exists. This state of affairs manifests itself in the almost complete division of the prison into two camps. The vast majority of the prisoners were brought up in the ghettos and the prison itself is a system of superimposed ghettos.

Catholics and Protestants often share the same cell. Prisoners are forced to sit where they are put in the dining hall. Mixing occurs.

On these occasions, and during "association" the time when all prisoners watch television, this mixing is inevitable. Division is most obvious in the work parties.

Some jobs are considered more desirable than others. Dining hall work is not one of them. The hours are longer and one works every day. All members of the dining hall work squad (barring the occasional misplaced new prisoner) are Catholics.

For long term prisoners the most desirable job is that of orderly. This involves keeping the place tidy and arselicking the screws for confiscated tobacco. The other most desirable job is a trade. This offers the young prisoner the opportunity of finishing his apprenticeship or picking up the threads of a new one, if the facilities happen to be available.

### GROUP LOYALTY

In the Young Prisoners' Centre, while I was there, there was only one Catholic orderly, out of a turnover in my time of about 20 and in the trades, when I went in, there was only one Catholic.

Later a young Catholic, serving eight years for possession of a firearm, was given a job. It was made clear that the reason for this was that he could be watched more closely in that part of the prison. When a vacancy arose a young Protestant serving six months was given it in preference to any one of a fresh batch of IRA men starting sentences ranging from two to eight years for possession of arms.

In Belfast Prison, probably more than in any other, a political prisoner lives in suspicion of everyone else, particularly those of a different political (and often religious) persuasion. During my time I learnt to trust one other individual that I had met there. My politics were known to most of the prisoners but in their minds I was grouped with the republicans. I was seen as a "Catholic anarchist". As a result of this I found it nearly impossible to talk to Protestants, especially those in for political offences.

I was talking casually to one, asked where he lived just for the sake of conversation, and he answered, "I'd be a fool to tell you that". He probably thought I wanted to shoot him sometime outside. All he did by saying that was virtually convince me that he was a member of the UVF (Ulster Volunteer Force —Protestant fascist army as distinct from IRA "provisional"—Catholic fascist army).

Short-termers were always suspect. Political prisoners are always on the look out for Special Branch spies. The greater danger is from fellow prisoners who try to make life easy for themselves by arselicking the screws. If they are non-political they may think that they have nothing to lose and a lot to gain by telling on other prisoners. While I was inside two men were shot dead on separate occasions shortly after release. Maybe they had something to lose, their lives.

I firmly believe that there are prisoners in Belfast Prison working directly for the Special Branch. I was told by a fellow prisoner that two men who had been shunned, because they were suspected of this, were granted immediate discharges.

I found out more about the IRA in prison, through the idle talk of others than I could have learnt anywhere else.

Every pub in Belfast, known to be frequented by subversives, is also frequented by army intelligence and Special Branch, who often make no effort to disguise themselves (they don't actually come in uniform). Spies are in the prison but I suspect that most of them are genuine convicts either arselicking or being threatened by the authorities.

### POLITICAL ACTION IN PRISON

As in probably all prisons the inmates are treated with contempt. It is impossible for a prisoner to make a complaint and, unless suffering from something very small or very serious, impossible to get adequate medical attention.

Several genuine protests were made by the prisoners. In December a group of prisoners refused to take their evening meal on the grounds that it was inadequate, as it always is. They were all locked up and asked individually if they wanted to make a complaint. Eleven did. They were brought before the Board of Visitors (the Ministry's impartial non-political henchmen). Their complaint was found to be groundless and the men were confined to their cells without privileges for 22 days.

On another occasion prisoners working out in the woodyard refused to work in the poor weather without adequate clothing. The Governor was called for. He told the prisoners to work and this time only one refused.

He was given three days, "on the board". That is solitary confinement on a restricted diet of one pint of soup, one pint of tea and dry bread. Prisoners on the board are forced to sleep on a bare wooden table. Later all prisoners were given special outdoor dress.

On another occasion a prisoner, a personal friend, tripped over a log in the woodyard. He hurt his hand and went to see the doctor. Three times in three weeks the doctor diagnosed a sprained hand. On the fourth week he discovered that three fingers were broken. The young man received hospital treatment but by that time his hand was irreparably deformed.

Again another friend had his wrist broken in an incident with a screw. He moved from his seat during meal time without permission. The screw, being a playful animal, pulled out his baton and struck the man on the wrist. This was in front of about 200 witnesses.

The man insisted on making a complaint but was told that if he did so he would be punished, for making a groundless complaint. He was offered an already typed statement to sign, accepting most of the blame for the incident. No complaint was made.

### SCREWS

Screws are not animals. The one involved in this incident was never noted for brutality, he was just carrying on. Many screws just carry on, making themselves a nuisance, feeling good by being a nuisance and occasionally hurting somebody. But brutality is a fact.

I have seen prisoners badly beaten. On no occasion did I receive anything worse than a punch on the jaw but I have seen many prisoners being kicked in the stomach, the testicles and the head, beaten with keys and whipped with the strap of a baton.

Screws have a real hangup for tidiness, but take real pleasure in wrecking cells, throwing beds in the air, pouring piss all over the cell, beds and all and scattering personal belongings everywhere. I have known this to happen to the same cell three times in one day despite the fact that prisoners must always keep their cells spick and span with the floors shining.

Several times in the four months of my incarceration various politicians visited the prison "to investigate allegations of poor conditions". Ex-prisoners had dared to allege brutality, sickening food, inadequate clothing, broken windows in many cells and inadequate sanitary provisions.

Everyone should understand that the people from slums are used to such things. Such people do not mind shitting in pots and sharing a toilet with 74 other prisoners and such people, even if they work in the kitchen, would not wash their hands anyway, even if the facilities were there.

Politicians of all parties found the allegations to be groundless. The leader of the main Opposition party at Stormont, Social Democratic and Labour Party MP Mr. Gerald Fitt declared, "I was delighted to see no hint of sectarian friction". Belfast Prison is not a place, he declared, he would mind staying in if he had a few good books. It is the place where he, and his friends of all parties should be.

"MAJOR MULLEN."

# The PD & the Cement Strike

THE CEMENT STRIKE began in Eire in February, 1970. The main employer Cement Limited made £6 million profit in 1969. They paid £1,685,000 out to their shareholders, that is over £2,000 for every man out on strike (750). The workers' case was that for a dirty filthy job—dermatitis was an accepted occupational hazard—their meagre wages of £13 16s. plus an 8s. bonus which hadn't been increased for 20 years, was totally inadequate for a 40-hour week. A massive new plant in Drogheda threatened redundancies and at least an end to overtime on which the men depended in order to make a living wage. They negotiated for a £7 a week rise. The company offered 50s. It was refused. The Labour court approved the offer with the proviso that another pound a week be payable from 1st June. The strike was on. The Irish Transport and General Workers Union behaved despicably, as did the ATGWU. Only £5 a week was paid out in strike pay, and very little effort was made to black all cement coming into the South, which would have ended the strike considerably sooner than eventually transpired. The strikers themselves, assisted by other workers in solidarity with their cause did manage to destroy 8,000 tons of cement which were hi-jacked at various times when scabs attempted to bring it across the border.

In the North the PD was the only socialist group to get involved following contacts with the strikers. Money was collected in both Armagh and Belfast for the strikers and leaflets distributed in both towns, and distributed at the border to would-be scabs. Several articles appeared in the "Free Citizen", but as the strike wore on more and more scabs in the North began to take advantage of the cement shortage in the South. Anyone with a lorry could make himself £80 for a 60 mile drive. Various small ports began to be visited by cement-carrying ships. Following representations from the strikers and the PD the Belfast dockers agreed to black all cement coming in, but the trade went on through the small ports of Cushendun, Kilkeel, and Ardglass. The PD began holding meetings in these towns and were well received, even in Kilkeel, a well-known Paisleyite/UVF stronghold.

On June 16 the PD went down with a group of 30 people to hold another meeting on the pier at Ardglass where they had been informed by locals that cement would be unloaded. A previous meeting had been well attended by local people and there had been no trouble, so only 30 went along. The PD marched down the pier and began to set up the loudspeaking equipment within earshot of the scabs. There were only three local policemen about, leaning indolently against the wall. As the people gathered around the car with the microphone, a cement-carrying lorry accelerated into the crowd forcing some of them to jump for their lives. One youth threw a stone at the departing lorry without inflicting any damage and suddenly two tender loads of RUC men, the riot squad, appeared out of nowhere. The youth was seized and dragged

into the tender. A PD member went up to ask what the charge was and where he was being taken. He was seized by an hysterical Inspector R. L. Brown and thrown in also. DI Campbell then seemed to go berserk and ordered his men to "get stuck in" to the people standing beside a pile of fish boxes. Without the hated TV cameras to record their fun and games the riot squad were obviously intent on a hit of revenge. 425, Trevor Little (known jocosely to his friends as "the beast") completely lost control and assaulted three bystanders before he was hauled off by less zealous colleagues, and Sergeant Ferguson and Inspector McFarland excelled themselves with "zest". Within four minutes 15 PD members, including two girls had been arrested. Brown arrived at the tender and pointed at the prisoners saying to his grinning underlings "pick a man and charge him". The lack of control of the police and in particular their officers surprised even the hardened veterans amongst the ranks of the demonstrators. When DI Campbell was asked by a speaker why people were being arrested he screamed "why don't you all go down south where you belong". None of the demonstrators was from Eire.

The prisoners were taken to the local sty where several had to have medical treatment—Dermot Kelly in particular after an attempt to tear his balls off by Sgt. Ferguson while he was being held by five minions. Two more people were arrested outside the station for "jaywalking", a charge which was altered to "disorderly behaviour", the commonest charge, closely followed by "assault". The two girls and three juveniles were allowed bail, the rest taken to a cell in Belfast and brought to Bangor in the morning where bail was reluctantly granted after guarantees for £1,700 were produced. (It was as well that most answered their bail since the PD didn't have £170 let alone ten times that amount.)

The trial itself was a travesty. It was held in front of the arch-higot Walmsley, who announced himself convinced of the moral turpitude of the prisoners in advance saying that the police "had informed him that the words 'pigs' and 'corrupt court' had been found written on a spectator's hench during the three day trial". The PD were ably defended, for free, by Paddy McCrory, Ulster's nearest to a people's lawyer. However, he was unable to be in the court for all the cases since it was held miles away in Downpatrick and his deputy was abysmal. Not that it mattered really. Despite the admitted perjury of various constables and one inspector—whom McCrory crucified in the box, to the dismay of the 70 police who crowded into the small court to intimidate the witnesses—a local man who agreed to give evidence was immediately summonsed himself—Walmsley lived up to his reputation. The class nature of the verdicts were interesting also. The two teachers were acquitted, the students were fined and eight workers (including one girl) were given sentences ranging from four months to

15 months. All sentences were automatically appealed.

After the case there was much discussion. We had been framed, but we had only ourselves to blame. We knew the police were after us and we weren't careful enough. Either we should have done absolutely nothing illegal OR we should have acted secretly and not got caught. As to the conduct of the case we had fallen between the two stools of treating it as a political trial—which it was—or treating it as a civil trial and doing anything short of a deal to get off. (It is also perhaps true to say that the fact that one of the defendants, who had several previous convictions, had skipped bail, with our prior knowledge, and hadn't helped matters by ringing up Walmsley, a RM whom he knew of old, on the morning of the trial and giving his name. "Why aren't you in court this morning?" asked RM Althert. "You have to catch me first, motherfucker" was the rejoinder, which, however apposite, may not have done his co-defendants any good.) Obviously a purge was on. Within a week PD members found themselves facing over 100 summonses for everything from squatting to picketing and even 30 summonses for drinking after hours. We replied with articles on police perjury and invitations to sue in the "Free Citizen" and unflattering references to Albert, but we determined not to forget the cement strike. One condition of continuing hail had been an undertaking not to go back to Ardglass and so the campaign was switched. In addition to trying to find the £400 needed for outstanding fines we continued picketing and leafletting.

For no other reason than to harass the police 18 official complaints concerning police brutality—all genuine as it happened—were made. The senior police officer who conducted the "impartial" inquiry subsequently admitted that it had taken up over 1,000 man hours.

However, in Armagh, the peace was disturbed by a strange phenomenon. Within the course of two weeks no fewer than 21 lorries owned by cement scabs mysteriously combusted. Worse still, at the time the police and fire brigade were at the other side of the town dealing with anonymous and malicious phone calls. Subsequently police have told claims tribunals that they believed the fires to be the work of a "well-known local group of political troublemakers", but that no one had been apprehended—an incredible admission of incompetence. Compensation is hard to obtain unless it can be proved that three or more people were responsible for the conflagration. A certain "plumber" Duffy, himself a former PD member, gave evidence. A pathetic figure, the plumber had been an enthusiastic member until tempted by the big profits to be earned by scabbing he had taken his lorry on the cement run, claiming to be "checking up on local scabs". He had been expelled, somewhat forcibly from the local PD HQ down a long flight of stairs. Speaking as well as he could considering the circumstances he claimed to have been at PD meetings when the names and addresses of local lorry-owning scabs had been announced and that the speaker had said that as a "private individual he was powerless to prevent the righteous wrath of the people". Duffy is, of course, scarcely a reliable witness for his lorry was mysteriously set alight amongst the six remaining

Armagh lorries the next week.

The destruction of 27 lorries by person or persons unknown ended the lorry running from Armagh, but the habit had spread unfortunately to Newry where five cement loads were destroyed. Here it is true to say that it was perhaps more due to the zeal of the Newry fire brigade who were summoned on several occasions to parked cement lorries which were, they were informed by local bystanders, on fire. In vain did the drivers protest that this was not so and that the token fire had been extinguished. The stern-faced and diligent Newry fire brigade, all union members, solemnly hosed down five loads of cement, inadvertently destroying them, but doubtless saving the town from a mighty conflagration. More serious was the irresponsible outbreak of hooliganism, which the local papers maliciously blamed upon Newry PD, when a ship hearing cement attempted to enter Newry harbour and unload. Over 200 local people emerged from their houses and stoned the boat out of the harbour where it was forced to return to Holland without unloading.

After 22 weeks the cement strike ended in partial defeat for the strikers. They were granted more money but it was tied into a productivity deal. The suffering of the strikers and their families had been great and the unions emerged with no credit, nor the English unions which refused to black the cement, nor the "democratic socialist people's republic of Poland" which shipped most of the cement. The cement industry has now been taken over by the government. The epilogue to the PD's part in the struggle came in October when the appeals were heard. These resulted in Dermot Kelly being acquitted (he had got 15 months from Walmsley), a clear acceptance by RM Brown, no liberal, that the police had been guilty of both perjury and brutality. Micky McCullough, James Ruddy, Brid McGlade, and Denis Cassin all got their sentences reduced and suspended. Oliver Cosgrove got his seven months reduced to one month, Eugene Cassin and

## Support the Internees and their Families

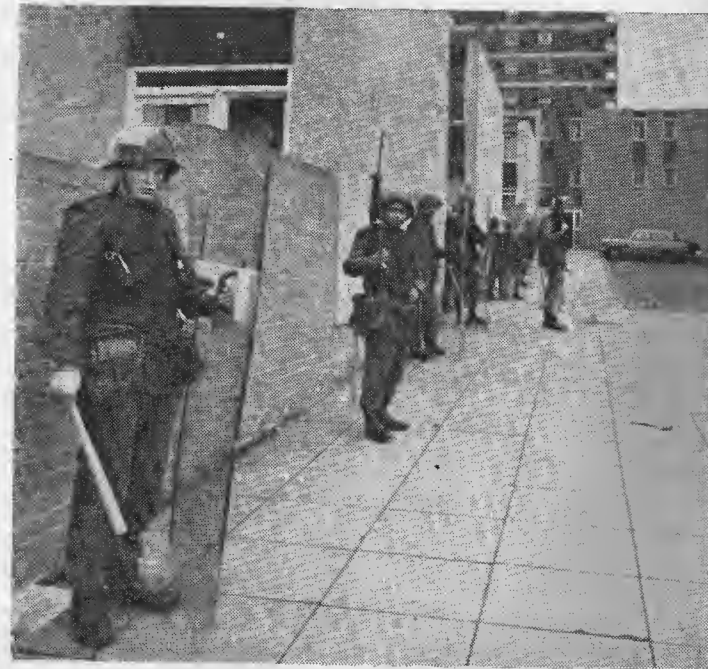
**Money to  
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Brian Vallely had to serve sentences of four and six months respectively. John McGuffin and Joe Quigley had previously been acquitted. John Curly who had skipped bail was eventually caught some months later but due to a technicality and the able defence of PD's new lawyer only served two months. Albert Walmsley is still on the bench but a changed man. The crown prosecutor has been heard to say "that bastard Walmsley's been intimidated by all those phone calls and letters, he's no bloody use for a conviction now". Surely no one believes this harsh judgement! Is it likely that a man of such proven experience and thuggery would allow his judgement to be affected? Those who point to his rapid mellowing are obviously forgetting the consequences of old age. His colleague RM Fox whose house was bombed last month is also a man of stronger stuff than these terrorists! The spell in jail has not affected adversely any of the PD members—eight of whom have now done time, indeed their protests against brutality by warders has even resulted

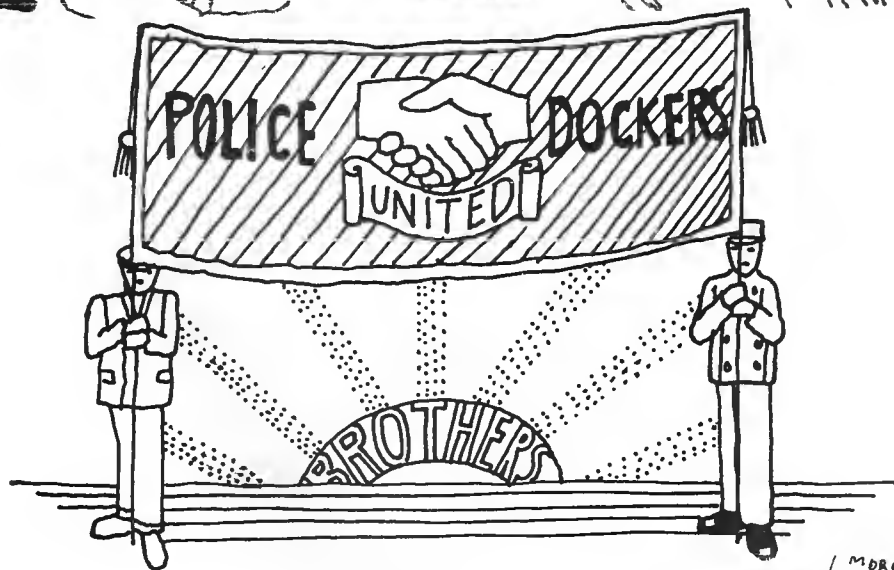
in some of them drastically altering their behaviour, though some say that the explosion outside the house of the notorious screw Madden was in some way influential. The PD had nothing to do with this and it was only coincidental that he had been named in the "Free Citizen" the week before. The paper is more than willing to sue anyone rash enough to assert otherwise.

The lessons to be learned from the cement strike action, only one of the many campaigns the PD engaged in in the last two years, are several. Firstly, more planning before demos. Secondly, concerted court room tactics. Thirdly, the power of solidarity, with the dockers who blacked cement in Belfast and Larne, and with the strikers whose meetings we attended in Drogheda and Dundalk and who supported us when we were in court. Finally, the virtues of "self help" and local initiative.

FE 3 C. (CEMENT).







members of the force, there were men there with 10 or more years' service.

Shortly after 4 p.m. Morrell and Clayton arrived to try and get control of the situation. Morrell read a statement suggesting that the men should hand in their names and forward a request for a meeting to the Inspector General. At this stage he was loudly jeered and the officers departed in some haste.

Barrett then spoke, he announced his suspension that morning, but he clearly feared that the situation was getting out of hand. He told the men "all I just ask you to do is this—let each and every one return to his barracks. Do your duty loyally and faithfully until this evening week, and then we will hold a meeting". Many of the men there were dissatisfied with this proposal and there were cries of "Too long" and "We'll give them one hour to reinstate you". Barrett replied, "No, we will give them eight days to consider the matter and give us a definite answer."

He told them that their petition had been forwarded to the Commissioner and that in due course it would go before the Inspector General, a Westminster MP (probably Sloan) had been given a copy. The petition contained the demands which had been circulated several days earlier, it did however contain this last paragraph: "The urgent character of the demands now made by the men necessitates their being urgently attended to, and, acting on our instructions, we have to press strongly, and with the greatest possible respect, for a definite assurance within a week that our case will be favourably dealt with forthwith."

When this was read out the police broke into deafening cheers, the strikers outside burst through the doors and joined the policemen. Barrett spoke again, he welcomed the strikers saying "it has been alleged that the authorities can put 10,000 men in our place, but there are 100,000 loyal union men in the City who will support us". He then announced that the next police meeting would be held on the Custom House Steps, and read out telegrams of support; that done he asked the crowds to disperse.

The crowd however was far too roused to simply go away. Barrett was chaired by constables and strikers and carried to the Custom House Steps. Total indecision ensued. There were calls to demonstrate outside the Commissioner's house, to wreck the barracks, to go to the docks. Barrett persuaded them to avoid violence, and they returned to the barracks. From there they went out by the gate into Townhall Street and to the City Commissioner's office in Chester Street. The five district delegates elected on the Wednesday night, including Barrett went in accompanied by a Unionist Councillor, F. C. Johnston, JP. The delegation were informed that Assistant Inspector-General Gamble was to arrive from Dublin at 6 p.m. and would discuss any grievances. At 6 p.m. the crowd reassembled within the barracks. However, it was not until 8 p.m. that Barrett reappeared with the result of the talks with Gamble. He told the meeting, "I am suspended. He has refused to reinstate me." Once again Barrett asked everyone to disperse. Again both civilians and police suggested that they rush the Commissioner's office.

At this point the strike leaders appeared for the

first time. The men who had demanded action were prepared to stop and listen to the leaders of the docks, the carters and other strikers. The speakers included John Murphy, Secretary of the Trades Council, Alex Boyd, leader of the Municipal Employees, one of the strike leaders, and also prominent in the Independent Orange Order, and also James Sexton, General Secretary of the National Union of Dock Labourers. Despite their oratory the strike leaders from outside proved less militant, less critical in their assessment of the position of the rebellious policemen than the policemen themselves. Alex Boyd told them "he hoped that Colonel Sir Neville Chamberlain (the Inspector-General) in whom he had every confidence would investigate the matter to the bottom". When the heat had gone out of the situation, with much talk of this kind, the strike leaders suggested that civilians should leave, and soon after the policemen began to disperse.

By failing to take any immediate action the policemen had already sealed their fate. They had timed their action to take advantage of the existing situation in Belfast, and their sole strength lay in forcing concessions while the authorities were powerless. Instead they attempted to go through legal channels in a situation in which they had no legal rights at all. As a result they had given the authorities eight days' grace.

The Tory Press were quite aware of the position by Monday. The "Newsletter", which had dismissed the whole affair as Nationalist rumour, now said, "When we say that these men numbered more than 500, that they met in defiance of orders, and that they or some of them hooted their officers it will be seen that the situation is serious enough and calls for prompt and decisive action on the part of the government."

The authorities were already moving into action. The Assistant Inspector-General arrived on the evening of Saturday, July 27. He held talks with County Inspector Morrell for most of Sunday. Meanwhile officers, head-constables, and sergeants from all stations met under District Inspectors Kelly, Gelston and Clayton. Stern tactics for dealing with the mutiny were decided upon. Assistance was called for from Dublin, the decision to send in troops, which must have had the support of Augustus Birrell, Secretary for Ireland, was made, six new magistrates were sworn in. There was disagreement, however, District Inspector Kelly of the West division resigned from the force rather than accept a transfer.

The first troops, 500 men of the first battalion of Cameron Highlanders and 700 men of the Berkshire Regiment, arrived in the City on Tuesday, July 30.

These signs of impending doom had their effect on the policemen. "Willing to Strike", writing on Wednesday, July 31, said, "Comrades, the demon of division is amongst you. 'Divide and Conquer' is the latest move." Moderates were proposing to go back to square one and submit a new petition to the Inspector-General. Although caught between the authorities, intent on repression, and the moderates hoping to salvage something, the "More Pay" movement was still active. On Wednesday, July 31, they sent round a circular aimed at the higher ranks who were at that moment preparing to crush them. It was addressed "To the

head-constables and sergeants of the RIC desirous of joining in and assisting the movement for increased pay and pensions". Replies to the following questions were "respectfully requested":—

1. Are you in agreement with action of the men carrying on the 'More Pay' movement?
2. Do the demands made on behalf of the force meet with your approval?
3. Are you prepared to strike and agitate and co-operate with the men if and when required in order to force the concessions claimed?
4. In view of the fact that the County and District Inspectors and other high placed police authorities are strongly opposed to the 'More Pay' movement and in as much as the government have been misled in the past by the representations of these officials as to the pressing character of our grievances and the crying injustice of our case, the men are of the opinion that all our future representations and communications should be direct to the responsible minister of the crown. For this purpose we require to know, are you prepared, notwithstanding disciplinary regulations to the contrary, to support the decision come to, to hold direct communication with authorities other than the police authorities?"

Unfortunately by the following day, Thursday, August 1, it was clear that "other authorities" were just as unsympathetic as the police authorities. The Under-Secretary for Ireland gave the reply to the petition handed in by the men the Saturday before. His statement included the following: "It is impossible for the government to entertain a petition presented under such conditions of disorder and insubordination, and of which the concluding paragraph is of a threatening nature." Before any representations were heard there would have to be "complete re-establishment of discipline". The petition was "a serious discredit to all the constables concerned". Constable William Barrett was dismissed and six other constables were suspended.

The next day, Friday, August 2, the day before the next planned meeting of dissident policemen, further blows fell. 200 policemen, most of whom had been involved in the trouble were told to prepare for immediate transfer to distant and scattered country areas. On Saturday morning the "Newsletter" reported that their replacements were already billeted in Lisburn and "the married and senior constables of Antrim, Down and Louth have been communicated with and ordered to hold themselves in readiness to take duty in Belfast when required". The same morning the "Irish News" reported that most of the men at Mountpottinger, Springfield Road and Musgrave Street Barracks were to be moved that morning.

The price of militancy was now clear. Barrett's most enthusiastic supporters were being got out of the city before they could cause any more trouble. Any tempted to join in the Saturday demonstration knew what lay in store for them.

The only encouragement for the police in Belfast came from RIC men in other parts of Ireland. At Athenry on August 1, 70 men met, and again the following night despite the opposition of the local DI. They

passed three resolutions.

1. They objected to being made herds of.
2. They would stand by any strikers who were victimised.
3. They would support a strike.

Support also came from Tipperary and Nenagh. Cork, however, was more typical. On Tuesday, July 30, the men agreed to apply to the Inspector-General for permission to hold a meeting. On Friday, however, they were refused permission and instead of taking any action decided to wait and see what would happen in Belfast.

Belfast was packed with troops on Saturday, August 3. The English "Daily News" described the scene: "The great industrial centre, crowded with 6,000 soldiers represented an armed camp. It is impossible to imagine a dockers' strike at Liverpool or Hull producing such a tremendous marshalling of military forces." The "Constabulary Gazette" voiced the fears that day "the military have been pouring into the city, and it is no exaggeration to say that in all sections of the population there is a reign of terror" and "if the police and the military are set in active opposition the result will be hell".

A huge crowd gathered, on the Saturday afternoon at the Custom House Steps, and at 4 p.m. Barrett appeared to speak. He told the crowd that "No military can make men work who are dissatisfied with their conditions. Down with blacklegs and cheap labour say I whether in civilian or constabulary life. All men are entitled to a living wage. Complaints are made that we demand redress of our grievances at the wrong time. I quite agree that we ought to have struck out for more pay at the time of the Boer War when there was no military force available in this country". Barrett had perhaps by now realised his tactical error in not pressing home the advantages held by the policemen. He went on to describe the police as "victims of a degrading system engineered by the successive governments in the interests of the landlord reactionaries against the masses of the people by the manufacture of crime". He considered that much of the work of the ordinary policemen involved detaining people for offences which only landlords would consider to be crimes, he believed that the RIC was vastly overloaded with District and County Inspectors and in order to justify their existence these men aided and abetted this "manufacture of crime".

After the meeting Barrett was chaired by the demonstrators, and a crowd of between 3,000 and 5,000 followed him as they toured the barracks of West Belfast. The procession went via the Donegall Road, Upper Library Street and Townsend Street, and then along the Falls to the Springfield Road returning by the Grosvenor Road.

For all the noise and clamour the march did not achieve its objectives, the mutiny itself had been utterly crushed. Many of Barrett's supporters had left on trains from Great Victoria Street that morning, the others dared not appear. For the first time there were signs that sectarian politicians, in particular Nationalists, were more interested in the police mutiny than the labour leaders. The "Newsletter" reported that there

was "a large Nationalist element in the crowd". The "Telegraph" headed its report "NATIONALIST DEMONSTRATION—Ignored by the Constabulary". Many of the marchers had shouted "Home Rule for Ireland" and there had been signs of tension when the march neared the Shankill.

Nationalists were, of course, interested in the police mutiny, far more interested than they were in the labour struggle. The police mutiny and the introduction of British troops raised for them the purely national question of British force in Ireland. The Dungannon Club, later to merge with Sinn Féin, led by Bulmer Hobson, later a bitter opponent of the Labour movement in the South issued a characteristic statement which included "for too long Irishmen have done the dirty work of their British masters for pay, but some of us are finding out that it pays better to be true to Ireland than to sell Ireland. The RIC are finding out at last that they are the sons of Ireland before they are the servants of the English government, and that if they strike it won't be the heads of their brother Irishmen they'll hit."

The Labour leaders were far less anxious to talk about the police mutiny than the Nationalists. It raised difficult questions for them. When policemen in the South and West supported the Belfast mutineers, did that mean that Belfast strikers and mutineers were expected to throw in their lot with the Southern peasantry? If strikers either fought the military or supported mutineers were they not in fact threatening the whole fabric of British Rule in Ireland? No Labour leader had the courage to spell that message out. They still held to the belief that the strike movement was a strictly economic and non-political affair. But the strike had grown so large that it could no longer remain non-political. The police had mutinied because of the pressures put on them by the strike. When Labour leaders had nothing to say about the mutiny and let it die a quick death, their supporters were simply confused, and what was worst of all, stood by as

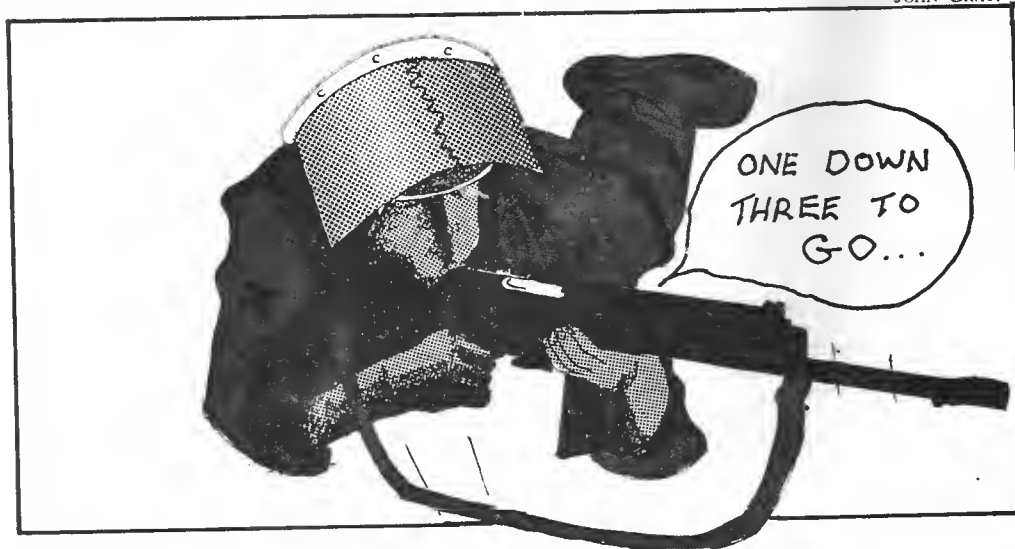
6,000 troops came into the City, little realising that once the soldiers had dealt with the police, they would deal with the strikers. Four days after Barrett's final forlorn meeting on August 3, 1,000 troops were out protecting blackleg carters.

Some Labour leaders did not merely stand by while the mutineers were crushed, they believed that if the strikers showed their loyalty to the government during the mutiny, they might even gain by it. Mr. Appelton, a British TUC delegate, attempted to settle the carters' dispute during the police mutiny because "there was a very serious danger of a conflict between the police and military. I felt that it would be of the greatest use to remove one of the elements of danger if possible before Saturday (July 27) because then certain steps were to be taken in connection with the dismissal of some of the police". Note that Appelton considered the striking carters as "an element of danger" which indeed they were if you were more concerned with the continuing stability of British rule in Ireland.

The episode of the police mutiny illustrates well the main failing of the labour movement in the North, often against all the odds the workers of Belfast have reached the brink of success, but the greater their success the more political questions about the whole nature of society in Ireland and its control are raised. When the labour movement flinches from those questions and claims to be non-political, or turns to British Parliamentary Democracy in its hour of crisis then it is defeated and often smashed. In 1907 they had to work with the police to succeed, they dared not do it and failed.

There is then perhaps a final comment. Events such as these occurred in a decade typified as that when all Ulster Protestants, rich and poor, exploiter, and exploited stood shoulder to shoulder against an equally united Catholic population. For those who have perpetuated the myths of Ulster's history "Willing to Strike's" words fit well. "There is no one so blind as he who will not see."

JOHN GRAY.



**CHURCH AND STATE IN MODERN IRELAND (1923-1970).** Published by Gill & Macmillan, 1971. £4.25.

AT THE OUTSET OF HIS THESIS Dr. Whyte stipulates the terms of reference under consideration. The state referred to is the 26 county state, the Republic of Ireland which came into being in 1922 as a result of the treaty. The Church in question is the Roman Catholic Church—i.e. "the church of the great majority in the 26 counties". The book has three main purposes. Firstly, to provide a general account of Church/State relations in Ireland since 1923, secondly, to provide a more detailed examination of the most celebrated episode in Church/State relations during the period—the long drawn out difficulties over the shaping of the Public Health Act. The third stated purpose is an attempt to answer the question "How much influence DOES the Church really have in Irish politics?"

The years 1923-27 reveal, so far as religious values are concerned, a remarkable consensus in Irish society. There was overwhelming agreement between the established parties that traditional values should be maintained. There is, in fact, little evidence to suggest that pressure from the Hierarchy was needed to bring this about. The two major parties were: Cumann Na Ngædhael, later to become Fine Gael—the Treaty party which accepted the British Settlement offer of 1922 and which subsequently became the first government of the newly created statelet; and Fianna Fail which initially was part of the greater Republican movement which had refused to recognize the Treaty on the basis that the 1916 struggle had been engendered with a view to liberating ALL 32 counties from the yoke of colonial imperialism (Fianna Fail were later in 1927 to become "constitutional" and enter parliament). Though they differed bitterly over constitutional and economic questions, they were certainly at one on religion. Cumann Na Ngædhael regulated films and books while Fianna Fail under De Valera regulated dance halls. Cumann Na Ngædhael banned any literature on contraceptives, while Fianna Fail banned their outright sale and import. In all this they had the support of the third party in Irish politics, the Labour Party. The Catholic populace gave no sign of protest, and the Protestant minority quietly acquiesced. According to Whyte the only opposition came from a coterie of literary men, among them Yeats and George Russell, and their influence upon the public was negligible.

In fact the acknowledgement of the "Special position" of the Catholic church by the 1937 De Valera constitution may be taken, despite the phrasing, to be the culmination of this process. The 26 county state appeared to be totally committed to the traditional Catholic values.

From the Hierarchy's point of view, the De Valera administration was proving to be a "model one". The church's position had been underlined in the 1937 Constitution. During the 1940s it promoted the idea of vocational organization as laid down in the Papal encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno". This indeed was a remarkable record for a party whose leaders had been excommunicated over the civil war issue. It would be misleading to suggest that on all issues





government and Hierarchy were in complete accord, for some questions which provoked disagreement did occur between 1932 and 1942. None of these were serious enough to cause any real breach, but there was evidence that some of the men who had clashed with the church during the civil war period were not totally subservient.

By the mid 1940s however, a rift had developed between the two "philosophies" of government. One could be labelled "vocationalist" and called for diffusion of responsibility among vocational groups, a view which provoked strong reaction. This arose after the publication of a long and detailed report by the Commission on Vocational Organization and a second more concise document by a Catholic bishop Dr. Dignan on Social Security services, which also stressed the need for diffusion of responsibility. This idea, which came from the developing Catholic social movement was anathema to the "bureaucrats" in the government who wanted to avoid "decentralization" and rely on the British concept of "ministerial responsibility".

The most important clash to occur however was of course the prolonged row that developed out of one section of the 1947 Health Act. The Mother and Child Scheme. Dr. Whyte devotes two chapters to this. One deals in detail with the actual provisions of the act, the other with the subsequent controversy surrounding the dismissal of Dr. Noel Browne, the Minister for Health who had introduced the mother and child scheme.

Generally the scheme followed the lines which the framers of the 1947 Act envisaged. It provided for "the safeguarding of the health of women in respect to motherhood and for attendance to the health of children up to the age of 16 completely free of charge without an applicable means test". It was to be based on the dispensary doctors whose numbers were to be increased to cope with the increased volume of work. This demand produced a head-on clash with the IMA. The whole point at issue can be traced back to emergent Catholic thinking in the late thirties and early forties. Whyte reports that the Hierarchy feared an intrusion by the State upon the

rights of the individual, if the mother and child scheme were to be implemented. A conflict of moral and social doctrine lay at the base of the whole affair.

The subsequent controversy dragged on for a long time and its eventual result was to harden the Hierarchy's attitude on many matters, especially the idea of socialized medicine. The issue was eventually resolved by shrewd politicking on the part of De Valera and the Fianna Fail government, which succeeded to inter-party government of which Dr. Browne had been a member.

Since then there has been little dispute. The attitude of the Church on Catholics attending Trinity College Dublin has at last been recently reversed, but censorship of books and films by the Church is just as strong. Similarly, its views on birth control and contraception are as unflinching as ever. We have had to wait until 1971 to see the growth of a Women's Lib movement prepared to militate on these issues. The author in his conclusion quotes the present head of the Hierarchy, Cardinal Conway, as saying that in relations between church and state the pressure from clerical sources has been slight. Mr. Sean Lemass, a former Taoiseach, echoes the Cardinal in expressing sentiments, but these palpable lies should fool no one when taken in conjunction with the statement by Dr. Lucey, Bishop of Cork, who blatantly admitted:—

"When the bishops in this country took a stand not so long ago on the Health Bill they were NOT acting as a mere pressure group, they were NOT exercising the democratic right as citizens to make representations directly to government. They intervened on THE HIGHER GROUND, that the Church is the divinely appointed guardian and interpreter of the moral law, in a word, their position was that they were the FINAL ARBITERS of right and wrong, even in POLITICAL MATTERS."

At £4.25 this book is grossly overpriced but could be a useful introduction to those naive enough to imagine that the domination of the Church is a thing of the past.

SEAMUS O'CAHAN.



**THE USES OF DISORDER** by Richard Sennett  
(Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1970).

THIS BOOK IS SOMEWHAT RARE in that the author combines a sensitivity to the psychological problems of urban life with an unusual grasp of classical anarchist theory as it applies to urban problems, and with a willingness to do some new thinking in anarchist terms.

Sennett divides the book into two parts. The first—"A New Puritanism"—is primarily analytic in character. The second—"A New Anarchism"—is designed to sketch out some broad outlines of what anarchism in urban life might be like.

Part I is based on a few relatively simple and common concepts applied in new ways to new contexts. The key is Sennett's belief that urban life is tending to produce "a new puritanism"—a purity, based on a vague myth of purity, of community and individual identity which almost defies people to face the potentially creative disorder of urban life. For a variety of reasons, people tend to act so as to minimize creative conflict and thereby bring to life the "myth of a purified community". Many separatists, segregationists, and, ironically, some anarchists reproduce such a myth without being fully conscious of it. Hence, Sennett claims that,

The small town in upstate New York and the suburb where "bad" black families were excluded feared conflict because conflict involved confrontation between men, friends as well as enemies, and that was an uncontrollable and therefore threatening social event. By an act of will, a lie if you like, the myth of community solidarity gave these modern people the chance to be cowards and hide from one another. (p. 35.)

Sennett argues that confrontation is both necessary and good and that communities should not simply be places to hide in.

This is not a blind argument for racial and ethnic integration. Sennett does not make this point as clearly as he should have, but assimilationist integration also reproduces the myth of purity. Integration as it is frequently defined is nothing but an anachronistic attempt to produce a "great melting pot" and reduce cultural differences to a mass conformity (cf. Antony Fleming, "The Machinery of Conformity" in ANARCHY 94 and reprinted as a pamphlet by Friends of Malatesta). Mass conformity could be called mass purity and is no more likely to produce creative disorder than is the idea of pure communities in which people can hide and avoid otherness of any sort.

The point seems to be that we can destroy ourselves by a fear of the one thing cities can provide—conflict with others at close quarters. This self-destruction could also be called purification or, more to the point, sterilization. Our own growth as human beings would be made impossible because of the sterilizing effects of the myth of purity and our own failure to understand that it is a lie. We would, one way or the other, have a new Fascism with less violence. We would be doing what the Germans did to Marseilles for the sake of efficient control. We would be destroying the growing, festering, potentially creative parts of our cities and of our lives for the sake of avoiding conflict

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We have an insatiable demand for vintage properties in the most unprepossessing districts, owner of SUBURBAN HOUSES & FLATS seem surprised at the prices we get for them—often far higher than they were led to believe they'd get locally.

11.11.11 BARGAIN, LORDSHIP LANE, N.12, 4 min. Wd. Gm Tube. High-standard 2nd fl. small block (Big blocks not only 1/2 skyline but reduce humans to status of parasite ants). The quiet sunny 2nd fl. 11.11.11 of distinguished Lecturer & organist. Virgin 11.11.11 Slave

NEW BARNET easy for 10' LEY WOODS & 1st fl. La (Vn) terrifically well built (the conductor, Nantstone H PARQUE). Pleasant cultured edn of roses, lawn, cedar apples, etc. 11.11.11 of 11.11.11 11.11.11



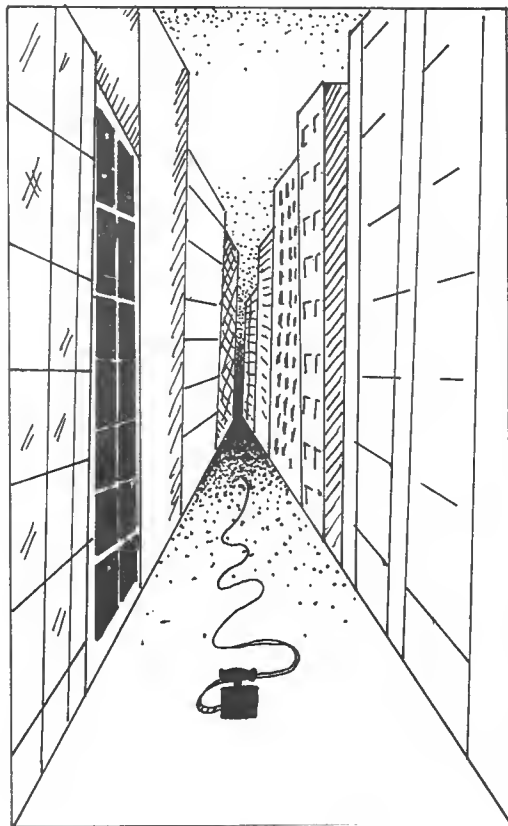
(cf. Constant Nieuwenhuys, "New Urbanism" published by Friends of Malatesta).

In Part II, Sennett sets out to show that a "new anarchism" will be necessary if we are to avoid the two pure (sterile) alternatives most frequently presented to us in our society. The results of this "new anarchism" would be to create disorder and conflict so as to make it possible for people to leave adolescence and attain adulthood. He claims that:

The terms of this possible adulthood may already be evident: a life with other people in which men learn to tolerate painful ambiguity and uncertainty. To counter the desire for slavery that grows strong in adolescence, men must subsequently grow to need the unknown, to feel incomplete without a certain anarchy in their lives, to learn, as Denis de Rougemont says, to love the "otherness" around them. (p. 108.)

In other words, accepting the "new anarchism" would involve taking the risk of uncertainty about the future.

Sennett does not deny the risk; he does not, that is, attempt to provide a grand, detailed plan. Rather, he attempts to make the risk intriguing by offering some interesting suggestions about a possible future.



The key to it is making conflict a major value.

For experiencing the friction of differences and conflicts makes men personally aware of the milieu around their own lives; the need is for men to recognize conflicts, not to try to purify them away in a solidarity myth, in order to survive. A social forum that encourages the move into adulthood thus first depends on making sure there is no escape from situations of confrontation and conflict. The city can provide a unique meeting ground for these encounters. (p. 139.)

Conflict would become more widespread. It would not be carried out by elected representatives, but by every person and group. This might mean that while conflict increases, violence might decrease though there is no proof offered for this speculation (cf. pp. 146 ff.).

Sennett does admit that, "It may be that ethnic and racial differences would eventually be weakened in such communities." (p. 163.) But these differences might be useless if purity were a major value, because pure communities would not know any differences except that there were other people with whom they had no contact or conflict. What might be even more important (though Sennett does not make this point) is that cultures might die through in-breeding and self-sterilization if purity were to be a goal. Sterility may be avoided by gaining strength in creative conflict.

The result of all this is an optimistic book. Sennett suggests that rather than cities being the urban jungle to be feared and escaped from, we may be able to view cities as places where a "new anarchism" could thrive and release the creative potential of the jungle. This "new anarchism" might be an old tribalism (Sennett claims to be opposed to tribalism, but maybe he does not know about some forms of tribalism). The old tribalism would not be the tribalism of completely pure and separate tribes, but it could be the federalist type (e.g., The Iroquois Confederation of Six Nations). The Six Nations achieved unity out of and in conflict. They had a structure in which conflict was always open and therefore minimally destructive. The "new anarchism" would not cause groups to cease to exist, it would cause them to cease being hiding places. Cities would be designed to bring out group and individual conflict (now repressed) so that difference would be open and eventually necessary for life.

Anarchy in cities, pushing men to say what they think about each other in order to forge some mutual patterns of compatibility, is thus not a compromise between order and violence; it is a wholly different way of living, meaning that people will no longer be caught between these polarities. (p. 181.)

The "new anarchism" is basically an attempt at formulating the outlines of a "new way of living".

*The Uses of Disorder* may please some who are looking for a new way of living. But I suspect that it will not be a bestseller. It will please some people for the wrong reasons (e.g., liberals). It will certainly not please those radicals (anarchist, Marxist, etc.) who are still tied to Nineteenth Century ways of thinking. But there is a need for new anarchist thinking, and this book is a beginning. At worst it may shake up some cobwebs in anarchist thinking.

BOB DICKENS.

Catch Book Review  
 The Blue Shirts - Maurice Manning  
 Gill and Macmillan. 1971. £3. 00.

This is the first fully documented account of a movement which arose in Irish politics in the 1930's and lasted for a mere four and a half years.

Manning's treatment of the subject is indeed thorough - the background of Irish politics in the post-Civil War period is concisely mapped out leading up to the actual formation of the Blueshirt movement whose original word was the Army Comrades Association, a professed non-political body whose objective was security of employment for its members (i.e. those who had fought on the pro-Treaty side in the Civil War of 1922-23). This association was formed while the Treaty government was still in office, i.e.,

The 1932 election, however, brought to power De Valera's Fianna Fail Party - the former anti-Treatyites in the 1922-23 war. De Valera's Party arose out of the IRA split in 1927 over the policy of abstention from parliamentary activity. Events after the 1932 election accelerated at a tremendous pace. The non-political ACA later became the National Guard under

the leadership of General Eoin O'Duffy who had been Commissioner of Police in Cosgrove's administration and for a short period in DeValera's. Under O'Duffy's direction the organisation rapidly assumed the trappings of a paramilitary force - uniform, arms, etc. - and violent confrontations were common throughout the country when election fever reached its highest pitch in 1932. The stated aims of the movement were total opposition to Communism, to the IRA, and to anybody else who was not in effect an avid supporter of Dictatorial Catholic power.

The movement rapidly became political when a coalition was formed between National Guard and the Opposition Parties: Cosgrove's Cumann Na nGaedael Party and the National Centre Party led by Frank MacDermot, which adopted the name Fine Gael. As time wore on, the military aspects of the Blueshirts were gradually played down as O'Duffy's links with the International Fascist Congress became more and more apparent and finally in 1937 O'Duffy resigned from Fine Gael to pursue a lone path with the section of the Blueshirts which had split with him. O'Duffy's greater involvement with international fascism led to the formation of a Spanish Brigade of

the Blueshirts whose actions can be described as "stage-Irish", to say the least. The information available regarding their involvement on the Falangist side in the Spanish Civil War is indeed sparse.

The tactics used by the DeValera government to prescribe, harass and repress the Blueshirts were as harsh if not more so than the tactics used by Cosgrove's Co. against the IRA ten years previously. This was later seen to be but target practice for Fianna Fail's attempt to wipe out the IRA, always regarded as the main threat to DeValera's stability in government.

The one serious criticism which can be directed at Manning is his failure to document fully the relationship between the Blueshirt Command and the Catholic hierarchy. He does, however, state that the leading theoreticians of Fine Gael economic and social policy, Professors Tierney and Hogan, relied heavily on 'Quadragesimo Anno' - the Papal encyclical of Pius XI which outlined in detail the path intended for the progression of Catholic Social Philosophy.

SEAMUS O'CAHAN







**ARMY RECLAIMS SURPLUS:** a carefully posed shot of a day's haul from the Lower Falls Road area of Belfast. Note for enthusiasts: the 45 pistols, 37 rifles, 2 sub-machine guns, 1 carbine, 13 shotguns, 8 grenades, 46 pounds of explosive, 100 incendiary devices and 15,000 rounds of ammunition are not for sale but propaganda. **BRING OUT YOUR GUNS**



